# Daily Report

# East Europe

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30 May 1990

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*FBIS-EEU-90-104* *30 May 1990*

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## Alia Declines Comparison With Gorbachev

*AU3005113090 Rome ANSA in English 0819 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] (ANSA) Tirana—A delegation of the Italian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission under Chairman Flaminio Piccoli on Tuesday met with Albanian President Ramiz Alia to discuss prospects for bilateral cooperation and to propose future meetings between the two countries' business and political leaders.

"Collaboration between Italy and Albania," Alia said at a press conference after the talks, "must move ahead and develop in all fields."

He was echoed by Foreign Minister Farudin Hoxha [title as received], chairman of the Foreign Economic Collaboration Committee, who said Albania now awaits concrete proposals for joint ventures and other cooperation measures.

Piccoli proposed that meetings take place in the near future, either in Tirana or in Rome, between business and political leaders to draw up detailed proposals.

In comments on his country's democratic reforms, after more than 40 years of isolation, Alia said he does not like to be compared to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev because "Everyone is himself," adding: "I don't like comparisons."

Albania is interested in modernizing its agriculture, transports, mining, water and chemical sectors.

## Sociologist Urges 'Free and Constructive Dialogue'

*AU2505110190 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 May 90 pp 3-4*

[Professor Hamit Beqja article: "On the Deepening of a Free and Constructive Dialogue"]

[Text] The decisions of the ninth and 10th Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee plenums, the concrete legislative endorsement of these questions by the People's Assembly, and their broad public discussion have electrified our entire social life. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, we are entering a new cycle of profound revolutionary, democratic, and socialist developments.

What is particularly striking in undertaking this leap to further revolutionize the entire life of the country in the wake of the party's wide experience and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings is the aim to deepen socialist democracy and to ensure its broad and concrete application.

The democratic practices in all fields of life are making our socialist democracy as a whole increasingly more operational. However, it would be a mistake to believe that these practices alone can resolve the problem. Without underrating their importance and benefit, what is of fundamental importance is to have a correct concept of this process as a whole, as well as of the struggle to further promote it, a correct concept of the need to raise the consciousness of the cadres and of all the people concerning this process. What we are talking about is the cultivation of what we call the democracy of thinking in public opinion and among individuals.

This is precisely what we must bear down upon, because this is where the weaknesses and shortcomings are greater. Freedom of speech and all other democratic freedoms cannot be embodied in life without open thinking, without an open dialogue, and without a constructive debate. Our people are not yet properly accustomed to ask questions freely and without reservations when they are not fully clear about something. They are not accustomed to not conform mechanically, and they are not accustomed to opposing, particularly when they really feel this to be necessary. A recommendation, especially if it comes from representatives of party or state organs, or through officials and superiors who are supposed in every case to know the party's line and directives better, is adopted as a truth that cannot be subjected to discussion. It is possible that the new norms and practices connected with the deepening of socialist democracy may be understood only superficially and that they may be viewed as mere democratic "decorations."

Among the numerous reasons and causes for this, a factor of decisive importance is the general level of democratic education of working people at various levels, and their training to participate in a free and constructive dialogue on all problems pertaining to the country's life, including major ones. This cannot be attained without a sufficient and satisfactory degree of information on all matters, domestic and international, without broad and comprehensive publicity.

The party has criticized the sloth and a certain poverty of the propaganda work carried out by the public information media, a shortcoming which has yet to be overcome. Information is still too little and too late. It is not presented in a comprehensive manner. We have had insufficient publicity, even when it has been needed, to the point that it has frequently been one of the causes of disinformation, be it even spontaneous, as well as of sensational gossiping, even with evil intentions, of a social and political nature. The inclination is observed, among the public information media, to play it safe, to deal with acute and even contradictory questions in a generalized way, "not to open the cards or to open them too late."

A genuinely democratic public information cannot exist without being supported by abundant statistical material—not partial statistical evidence pertaining to an enterprise or a district. We are talking absolutely about information on a national scale, at an all-state level. Otherwise, how can a person form an opinion about every aspect of the country's entire life and its development, about the social problems arising from this development? However, we cannot fail to admit that our

statistical service has been and still appears to be defective, lame, and at times even one-sided and not always based on strictly scientific and objective criteria.

Our juridical information, culture, and education is also approximately the same. Can anyone be a live subject of socialist democracy if, as a citizen, he has no adequate knowledge of his country's legislation, its interpretations, the rights and duties arising therefrom? How can anyone be aware of these duties and how can anyone defend these rights without possessing adequate information? Meanwhile, the juridical culture and education of the masses exist almost in name only. In these circumstances, it is understandable that administrative organs and various individuals, affected by haughty and bureaucratic inclinations, and sometimes, unfortunately, even judicial organs, "are playing with people like a cat with a mouse." Society has given democracy to these people, fundamentally. But sometimes they cannot really enjoy it.

The problem of the formation of the new man of our society as an active subject of socialist democracy, of the manner and degree of this formation, its shortcomings, and the problems that arise in connection with the further promotion of this process, are also acute.

The "democracy of thought" is related, primarily, to the individual, his consciousness. A genuinely democratic being cannot exist if it has no individual thought, if he does not judge matters independently, if his critical and self-critical spirit is not developed. From ancient times, the great philosophers have spoken about the right of man to look at everything in a lively manner, to wonder, to be amazed, and to doubt. Truth arises in debate. Lenin used to stress forcefully that communist formation is based on firm, individually ground and processed, personal convictions. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed once again, the issue is to change the thinking of people, their mentality, and to look at everything from a critical viewpoint. People must express their thoughts freely, with communist sincerity, and with an open heart. Education must induce people to think with their own heads, not merely to approve, but to make their own contribution through a creative mind.

However, in the struggle to apply these principles, there has been unilateralism and distortions. Dogmatic, conservative, and sectarian attitudes have predominated and continue to predominate, not excluding liberal attitudes. Doctrinairism frequently assumes schoolboy, almost infantile traits.

What is worse is that cadres, Communists, social activists, and even intellectuals reconcile themselves with this spirit. Following is an example of a discussion with qualified social activists: The lecturer raises acute contemporary social problems for discussion. He tries to present these questions openly, but nobody asks questions. And yet, such questions do circulate from mouth to mouth. Go on, do ask the blessed question! Even if it is somewhat muddled, do ask it! We are all between friends and comrades. We will try to find an answer. And should somebody ask a question of the kind that is considered to be "a forbidden apple," without any reason whatsoever, he is looked at in amazement: Is he right in his head, or not? What is the purpose of this "bravery"? Why does he not hold his "peace"?

A weighty article is published in some media organ. It raises important problems. Even new problems. There are people, even intellectuals, who have their own ideas about the article, who do not agree with this or that thesis presented by the author. They talk about it all over the place, but they do not grasp the pen to write and to polemicize openly.

Are we not confronted, in all these cases, with a lack of civic and, particularly, intellectual courage to discuss openly, to participate in a constructive dialogue, to express one's opinion fearlessly. Is this not an indication that the mechanism of socialist democracy in expressing one's opinion has not yet been mastered consciously and organically? All the more so since they are supposed to be molders of public opinion. Can we accept and practice this self-censorship, which Gorky rightly called the worst form of censorship, any longer? Let us wage a merciless struggle against this petty bourgeois inclination to keep one's ideas to oneself. Let us wage a merciless struggle against the bureaucratic, doctrinaire, and sectarian climate that keeps it alive and feeds it. Let us carry out intensive educational work with its bearers, to free them from all fearful prejudices and reservations, from all the old tabus which puts a brake on their free personal thinking. Let us at the same time create broad avenues for their expression. In the effort made by our television to organize a free debate on more recent social problems, a considerable number of personal, original, and bold opinions were expressed, particularly concerning the economic mechanisms of our society. However, spring does not arrive with one flower, not even with a few flowers. The party has always stressed that debate and a free and constructive dialogue must be transformed into a form of education, into a method of work.

However, the old inert and conservative forces cannot be overcome without making also an analysis of the road that has been traversed, including the mistakes that may have been made, without a public treatment and assessment of the past in a critical and self-critical spirit. This is not an easy thing to do. It requires more than a mere self-critical attitude and boldness. It requires a commitment and active participation by everyone, under the party's guidance. We do, in fact, observe that such efforts are being made. There have been initiatives to raise this problem broadly, particularly in the field of culture, in the field of our relations with world science and culture and of certain mistaken attitudes of the past toward them, as well as in the field of our social thinking and, more concretely, on our national culture of the past and of the present.

A free and constructive dialogue has a broad field of operation especially in dealing with the problems pertaining to our spiritual life and our ideological and cultural activity. What Comrade Ramiz Alia said about unity, that it does not mean that we must have complete unanimity in all matters, has a broad application particularly in this field. Here we have lots of room for nuances of thoughts and attitudes, quest and solutions, and intellectual tolerance. It is impossible to design everything with one standard only. It is impossible to cut everything with the same scissors.

Let us take the problem of the formation and education of our youth today. There are also unilateral views on this. There is a lot of judgment with the measures of the past. Current developments, transitory difficulties, and new problems are being neglected. They are not infrequently tackled with a certain nervousness, with an attitude of underrating our present-day youth. However, in addition to these more stable inclinations, we also observe from time to time an inclination to move on to a liberal treatment of these matters.

Rigid attitudes that emerge against the natural evolution of the demands and tastes of young people, their preferences for fashions, music, and so forth, have rightly been criticized. However, other voices have also been heard. Let young people follow whatever fashion they like, let them listen to whatever music they like! There is no reason why we should "interfere in this matter." This is going from one extreme to the other!

Do young people like rock music? "Why shouldn't they?" But there is rock and rock. It is true that rock has a popular origin and that it can be composed and performed elegantly. But the rock that is currently inundating the stages throughout the world is constructed, mostly, on a screeching music and bastardized execution of this music, and is accompanied by monstrously deformed clothing. It seeks to imitate primitive orgies with the greatest zeal.

Fashions will evolve, undoubtedly. There will be imitation of foreign fashions, to a certain extent. A lot of it is nice and comfortable. However, we do find also things of a transitory commercial nature, as well as stimulation of vulgarity and sensualism. What is the sense of not discussing these problems freely with young people? Does it make any sense not to help them not to be misled by worthless coins?

One must not forget that present and, especially, future developments will be accompanied by problems pertaining to the youth and that these will require increasingly more refined and qualified treatment and confrontation. There is no reason why today's young people should not acquaint themselves with the best values of contemporary culture and art, with its more fundamental trends and distinguished personalities, be they impressionists, expressionists, or something else. Prohibiting people from acquainting themselves with them, considering them as a kind of "heresy," can be transformed, and has not infrequently been transformed, into an anachronistic tabu, a harmful brake. The humane and democratic cry for a cultural communication of very broad dimensions, pertaining to past centuries and to the present, springs from the aphorism: "Nothing that is human is alien to us." However, while distancing ourselves resolutely from sectarian doctrinairism, we do not consider at the same time that it is appropriate that we should view all contemporary art in a spirit of a euphoric and total enthusiasm. Side by side with genuine and original values, there is also the opposite, even within the various schools and fundamental trends. To respect artistic values does not mean not to make distinctions and to throw overboard various ideo-aesthetic criteria and stands.

The sphere of art and literature is even more sensitive. It does not tolerate standards and prefabricated parts, nor theories that set out norms. In our country, the literature and poetry of the postliberation era have experienced manifest successes. Numerous discussions have taken place about them. However, we have also had, and continue to have now, also mediocre and even weak literary and artistic creativity. In this connection, we have had exulting hosannas, as well as criticism tainted with a kind of nervousness. Not only literary and artistic criticism, but even some official circles which exert an influence in these sectors, have attempted to impose a diktat of thought and even fashion. The stage and the screen have been particularly affected by this, as well as the figurative arts and variety. Without exempting literature, too. It has been the case that "numerous hands" have been involved in the public "blessing" of this creativity. Of these, there are those who have even imposed their veto; alright, when they have been really party-minded, relatively capable, serious, benevolent, and with a minimum of democratic expanse. However, what happened when, while considering themselves to be "all-knowing," they were in fact mediocre and even incapable, with a narrow cultural horizon, self-appointed wardens of party-mindedness, pretending to possess a supposedly "high level of ideological vigilance" and a "refined class instinct"? They have severely constricted a free, democratic, and constructive dialogue in these fields, and even caused all kinds of damage. They were particularly influential in establishing a precensorship or a postcensorship. What Comrade Ramiz Alia says, that acting democratically means to possess the ethic of debate and dialogue, to listen to someone else's opinion to the end, to respect that opinion, and not to impose oneself by virtue of one's position, is, in the field of art and literature, a basic axiom from which to begin all work.

The party has strongly criticized the centralist and bureaucratic practices that have been operating in these fields, and has suggested collective and democratic forms of judgment.

However, forms and regulations are not the major point here, although their importance is not denied. What is

important is how matters are conceived. Let us look at the question of publications from this angle. The fact that these will be approved by collegiums, and there is no reason to suppose that they are incompetent, is a positive fact. However, how are the relations between publishing houses and authors built? What rights do authors have? Unless we are mistaken, none.

The publishing houses or organs approve publications, or not. They may come to terms with the author, but again, as a rule, they have the last word since, they say, they also "have the responsibility for the publication." In these institutions, there is a special editorial zeal. However, not infrequently, this zeal is not only incapable, but also harms the book.

It is obvious that not every manuscript will be published. Some works may not be accomplished. It is also obvious that the publishing houses and organs will do their work and may even "disappoint" some authors. But this must be done unfailingly in a democratic manner, through dialogue.

A constructive dialogue is absolutely necessary in creative intellectual work, particularly in studies and scientific research. The relevant institutions in these fields cannot be genuinely scientific without such a dialogue. However, mediocrity and inability may also strike roots in these spheres if they find suitable terrain, thus securing longevity and even leading positions. Here and there they may have done so, even to the point of making the law there, nurturing stagnation and vegetation, comfort and sloth, low productivity, and "a blessed peace," albeit a false one. Under such circumstances there is very little open and active dialogue. Not even internal debate. All these are considerable obstacles to the progress of scientific thinking, which can stifle even able people, particularly young people, who may even become used to a life of comfort, doing little, thus putting a brake on creative boldness and a critical spirit.

In the educational sector, at first sight, there is more discussion. But here, too, there are attempts to resolve questions without proper debate, sometimes hastily, confronting educational and pedagogic opinion with accomplished facts.

Live dialogue has also increased in our international cultural communications, but very slowly and with numerous difficulties. An international conference on world illiteracy took place recently with the participation of a large number of countries, but our country failed to send a single representative. Is it because we have nothing to say about our experience in the struggle against illiteracy? Other cultural activities take place in many countries. Unfortunately, even the most distinguished representatives of our national culture have attended such activities only too rarely. This may be a question of limited possibilities. Other factors may be involved. However, we cannot fail to stress, in this connection, the indifference of many offices and officials, bureaucratic and administrative procrastination, and even a haughty attitude adopted by some toward these matters. Meanwhile, it may happen that when it comes to their own persons, or some "friend or relative," the question is solved very, very quickly. Has the time not arrived to be more operative and more open in these fields, too?

It is obvious that all fields of life require more lively commitment and more rational solutions, in keeping with the time. We may perhaps have tried to put the stress from a critical and self-critical angle. However, it appears to us that now, more than ever before, an open treatment of these matters is necessary, in the spirit of a constructive dialogue, even be it internal. We cannot progress without such a dialogue, we cannot resolutely break the conservative and bureaucratic shackles.

### Opposition Says Mladenov Accepts Demands

*AU2905204090 Sofia BTA in English*
*2011 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces will probably sign the agreement on non-violence. At today's [29 May] rally the leader of the opposition, Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, announced that at a meeting he had with President Petur Mladenov the latter said he would accept the main additions the opposition wants to be made to the text of the agreement. The opposition demands guarantees that if the opposition wins the elections the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) will yield the power without putting up resistance; that the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defense will keep the peace in the country; that the BSP will give up its privileges and its illegal property.

### Government Rejects Opposition Accusations

*AU2905181590 Sofia BTA in English*
*1700 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—The government said today that it has no intentions to conclude any kind of agreements whatsoever for sale of economic projects to foreigners. This is written in a declaration in reply to SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF] accusations insisting that a single party government is holding talks for sale of industrial, tourist and economic projects to foreign companies. At the same time "the government is not hiding its positive attitude to a further attraction of foreign capitals in various sectors of the Bulgarian economy."

The declaration calls unfounded the assertions that the government is trying to place the future cabinet before a fait accompli. It is indicated that the draft law on disarmament is ready and will be introduced at the Grand National Assembly after the elections and that the future parliament "will be duly proposed" a law on investments. After their endorsement it will be possible to hold negotiations of which the declaration of the opposition writes.

The government accuses the SDS for impeding the country's international relations and calls that "a behavior which is difficult to explain."

### Bulgarians Resident Abroad May Return To Vote

*AU2905193290 Sofia BTA in English*
*1822 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—The Ministry of the Interior declared that it will provide all facilitations to enable all Bulgarian citizens living abroad for whatever reason to rapidly and freely pass through the border checkpoints on entering and leaving this country if they want to cast their votes in the elections for a Grand National Assembly in Bulgaria.

The Central Electoral Commission granted the Bulgarian citizens living abroad the right to vote in the polling stations set up at the Bulgarian diplomatic missions with the consent of the respective country. If they wish to, the Bulgarian citizens living abroad can exercize their franchise in Bulgaria. The only exception when no free entry and stay in the territory of Bulgaria is allowed concerns those Bulgarian citizens who have sentences passed on them, who are liable to prosecution because the legal prescription has not expired and those who are liable for punishment for crimes committed by them.

### BSP Candidates Say Opposition 'Helps' Them

*AU2905160090 Sofia BTA in English*
*1506 GMT 29 May 90*

["Socialists Insist That the Opposition 'Works' for Them"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—According to three BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] candidates for M.P.s [members of parliament] the opposition helps Socialists to get a victory in the forthcoming elections. At a press conference here they said that their fears about the outcomes of elections on June 10 are related only with the possibility that their party will get more than 60 per cent of the votes. In that case the opposition will accuse us in falsification, one of the candidates said.

Asked why the Bulgarian Socialist Party (heir of the BCP) [Bulgarian Communist Party] does not share the fate of Communist Parties in the other Eastern European states, they replied that changes in Bulgaria were launched by the former BCP while in the other countries it was the opposition that toppled the totalitarian regimes. The BSP representatives said that the nucleus of the opposition which in fact is rather young and was pushed to the forefront after the events of November 10 last year consists in fact by members of the former BCP. According to the BSP candidates the opposition forces due to their inexperience copy foreign models, uncomplied with the specific conditions while the policy of a total rejection which they pursue rejects 200-300 thousand reformers, the BSP included.

It was also said that the ruling Socialist Party has duly given up the soviet gradual model of reforms and since the beginning of this year has radicalized its actions.

In relation with BSP viewpoints on the country's foreign policy it was said that Bulgaria is coming out of the "satellite syndrome" the roots of which date back before the time of World War Two. It was stressed that there must be a balanced foreign policy, strengthening of relations with the West, and improvement of cooperation with traditional partners which according to the M.P.s candidates the opposition forgets.

## Lukanov Campaigns for BSP in Rhodope Region

*AU3005090990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian*
*28 May 90 p 1*

[Mikhail Kulishev report: "Three Rhodope Municipalities Greet Andrey Lukanov"]

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov took part in election rallies in three border area municipalities in the Rhodope region. In Zlatograd, he spoke about the need to intensify the government's anticrisis economic program and certain topical political problems on the eve of the elections. In his speech, he pointed out the importance of the market economy, to which there is no alternative. The speaker also spoke about certain issues related to freedom of religion.

At the Second Mining Administration of the "Gorubso" Company, Andrey Lukanov met the company's managers and miners. He also visited several projects of the Ermorechie Mine Complex.

In the town of Devin, Andrey Lukanov was accompanied by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] candidates for people's representatives in the Devin and neighboring constituencies—Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Filip Ishpekov, cosmonaut Georgi Ivanov, and General Dimitur Shishmanov. Speaking about the socioeconomic situation in the country and the Rhodope region, Comrade Andrey Lukanov pointed out that despite the serious mistakes that had been allowed in the past, Devin and the other settlements in the municipality have changed their image.

The thousands of participants in the Smolyan rally greeted the well-founded and inspired speech of the Council of Ministers chairman with exclamations "BSP," "Victory," "Democracy," and "Forward with the BSP."

Speaking about the role and place of the BSP, Andrey Lukanov said that it was confidently leading our society along the road of the democratic changes, and at the same time it was changing and renewing itself. Furthermore, he also pointed out that the BSP helped the opposition to strengthen and assert itself, despite the fact that now the opposition so fiercely and unethically denies the BSP. The speaker pointed out the great role of the nonviolence agreement in protecting legality and the citizens' rights.

The participants greeted with interest Andrey Lukanov's words on the need to improve relations with our southern neighbor, Greece.

Finally, Comrade Andrey Lukanov handed a group of 20-year-old youths their party membership cards and wished them success.

## Lukanov Warns Against Violence at Rally

*AU3005070990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian*
*27 May 90 p 1*

[Report by Katya Yaneva and Plamen Enchev: "Impressive Rally of Socialists Rejects New Totalitarianism"]

[Excerpts] Tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of people came to Sofia's "9 September" Square on 26 May, prompted by responsibility and concern for the country's future.

The great space of the square was filled to capacity. The rally was attended not only by members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], but also by nonparty members and supporters of dozens of other parties and organizations who cherish national unity and are alarmed by the signs of increasing violence, unrestrained ambition, and uncivilized striving for power. [passage omitted]

The participants were addressed by Andrey Lukanov, BSP Supreme Council Presidium member, who said:

We have gathered here today because of our determination to fully travel the road toward the democratic state governed by the rule of law that we embarked upon on 10 November. For six months now, we have been pursuing our goal despite the social polarization and the contradictions and conflicts we inherited from the totalitarian system. We are pursuing our goal consistently and steadily, overcoming crises through public dialogue, and preserving relative political and economic stability. Nevertheless, today, two weeks before the first free and democratic elections in Bulgaria, the issue of violence and the peaceful transition is in the center of our attention and moves us all.

More and more Bulgarians are beginning to understand that the repeating cycle of violence in our social life is a curse we must eliminate by overcoming the division into "us" and "them." Andrey Lukanov described adherence to the agreement proposed by the president as a sign of maturity and responsibility to the nation.

However, violence does not always appear openly and suddenly, the premier said. It often begins in ostensibly innocent forms, under the guise of pseudodemocratic and pseudopatriotic slogans. We must, therefore, be alarmed by the frequent manifestations of intolerance, total negation, hatred, instigation, irresponsible slandering of political opponents, falsifying or deliberately twisting information, open striving for power, encouraging nationalistic emotions, and attempts to utilize ethnic and religious factors, phenomena that emerged recently.

All this conceals danger for real democracy in our country and creates fertile soil for the seeds of future violence, Lukanov said. The shadow of a new totalitarianism emerges behind those manifestations and tendencies. As history teaches us, totalitarianism is the tragedy of all. It does not recognize friends and foes. The BSP will never return to violence as a method of political

struggle and will not initiate any violence. It openly declares that it will pursue its political goals only within the framework of the country's Constitution and laws and that it will accept and unconditionally respect the people's will, expressed through free and democratic elections.

On behalf of the government, Lukanov assured the participants in the rally that the government is aware of its responsibility for the normal and democratic conduct of the election struggle and the elections themselves. [passage omitted]

### Monarchist Party Rallies for King Simeon II

*AU3005090390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 May 90 p 2*

[Boryana Buchvarova report: "Monarchists Kneel in Front Of 'St. Nedelya' Church"]

[Text] "We must be led toward Europe by a wise and worthy shepherd, and Simeon II is the only such person," Ivan Ambarev, chairman of the Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party based in Plovdiv, said at a Sofia election rally-procession. It was organized by the Parliamentarian Movement for the Turnovo Constitution, which now unites the monarchist forces in our country: the Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party with 26 branches throughout the country, the "Prosvetlenie" Sofia Association, the Veliko Turnovo Monarchist-Constitutional Union, and others.

The procession began at the People's Palace of Culture and headed along "Vitosha" Boulevard. The participants knelt at "St. Nedelya" Church, and ended the procession at the National Arts Gallery, the former King's Palace. It was not a silent procession. At a certain point the participants even started to sing "Lo, Simeon arrives and calls for his soldiers...." "Simeon—in Bulgaria," as the only chance and guarantee of democracy—this was the leitmotif of the procession. According to the participants, "de jure, Bulgaria still is a kingdom, and his majesty, Simeon II, is the king of the Bulgarians" because the Turnovo Constitution is the only legal constitution we have. The participants describe the referendum on the republic as false. A newlywed couple had their photo taken under the Bulgarian flag with the old coat of arms.

The movement has sent a letter to the Central Election Commission that demands that the parties that do not receive the necessary four percent of the votes be allowed to have independent representatives in parliament who could add their votes to another union or party. Simeon Blagoev, people's representative candidate, said at the rally. "UDF," [Union of Democratic Forces] the participants chanted, making it clear what they meant. An anonymous participant said the Communists had killed his son-in-law on 23 May, an allegation he could not prove. While it was not publicly announced, Mr. Ambarev nevertheless confirmed that a coalition leader is in Spain at the moment in order to meet with Simeon, and that on 28 May he had breakfast with the king.

According to the organizers, fewer "subjects of his royal majesty" came to the rally than to the previous one, and they attributed this to the bad weather.

### Candidate Lists in Pazardzhik Area Presented

*AU3005092690 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 May 90 p 1*

[Lili Todorova report: "Generosity in Favor of Bonton"]

[Text] Pazardzhik, 27 May—Belcho Belchev, minister of finance and Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] candidate, will compete against Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] Secretary Petur Beron. The contest will take place at the 93d Peshtera single-candidate constituency. Two additional members of the cabinet are candidates in the majority system round of the elections—Internal Affairs Minister General Atanas Semerdzhiev is a candidate in the 92d Velingrad constituency, with corresponding member Nikola Todoriev in the 88th Septemvri constituency.

Some 19 coalitions, parties, and unions have presented their lists in the Pazardzhik multicandidate constituency. With some exceptions, all candidates are local people, and many of them are lawyers and doctors. The BSP list is headed by Filip Bokov and Spas Muletarov, deputy chief prosecutor of the republic, and the UDF list by Stoyan Ganev, legal expert of the union. The other lists are headed by people such as Father Dimitur Ambarev of the "Parliamentarian movement For the Turnovo Constitution" Coalition, and Iliya Minev from the United People's Union in the town of Septemvri.

The public was informed about a generous act—the "Information Carriers" company transferred 2,000 leva to each of the bank accounts of the BSP, UDF, and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union as aid for their election campaigns. "We will be happy if emotions and personal ambitions are replaced by political wisdom and if you assert a benevolent tone, tolerance, and respect," reads the letter to the three political parties, signed by company manager Khrabur Stoyanov.

### 'Serious Incidents' at BZNS Rally Noted

*AU3005092390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 May 90 p 1*

[BTA report: "Agrarian Rally with Serious Incidents"]

[Text] Slavovitsa village, Plovdiv Oblast—The mood at the election rally organized by the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], at Aleksandur Stamboliyski's native village, was subdued before it even started when it was announced that rally organizer Nadezhda Vreskova had been stabbed during the previous night by her drunken husband, and was at the Urology Department of Pazardzhik Hospital after a

difficult operation. The painful atmosphere was aggravated by a small group of drunken locals, who waved orange and red flags [colors of the BZNS and Bulgarian Socialist Party], their curses and obscenities directed at the speakers filling the air.

The cool presence of mind of "Nikola Petkov" BZNS leader Milan Drenchev prevented a physical clash after it became known that the tires of many of the cars with which the guests had come to the rally had been punctured. The organizers refused to provide protection, and throughout the rally there was not even one uniformed official in the village.

Milan Drenchev pointed out that the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS and the Union of Democratic Forces are against violence. The orange color of the BZNS ballots was assessed by him as an attempt to delude the voters about the real champions of democracy.

Notified about the events in Slavovitsa, the Regional Directorate units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a task group to the village. An inquiry has opened against Spas Vreskov, who is being sought, in connection with the attempt to kill his wife.

## Commission Makes Decision on Voting Procedures

*AU3005082690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 May 90 p 1*

[BTA report: "Decisions of the Central Election Commission"]

[Text] 1. The Central Election Commission strongly urges all citizens who have the right to vote in the Grand National Assembly elections to check as soon as possible the voters' lists in the election sections at their place of residence. If they find that their names do not appear on the list or that there are inaccuracies in the listing of their name, birth date, place of birth, and address, they must immediately demand from the relevant people's councils that the omissions and inaccuracies are eliminated. If this is not done, they must appeal the decision within three days at the relevant district court, whose decision is final.

The Central Election Commission obliges the people's councils to take these requirements into consideration and make immediate decisions on the aforementioned issues, which are to be reported as soon as possible to the interested persons.

2. The Central Election Commission informs the persons listed in the voters lists, the district election commissions, and the people's councils that permits to vote in other election sections, other than those at the regular place of residence, can be issued only until 31 May 1990. By that date, the names of the people who have received such permits must be erased from the election lists in which they appeared earlier on the basis of their place of residence.

3. The Central Election Commission obliges the people's councils to register the people who are residing temporarily in the respective settlements in the election lists and immediately and officially notify the people's councils at those persons' permanent places of residence, so that their names can be erased from the voters lists prepared at their former place of residence.

4. The Central Election Commission obliges the executive committees of the people's councils and the district election commissions to mobilize all their capacities in order to make sure that people will be constantly on duty to implement the aforementioned decisions and announcements.

All corrections and addenda to the voters lists, on the basis of the aforementioned decisions, must be completed by 31 May 1990.

The unique personal numbers of the voters must be inscribed in the voters list when they are updated.

5. Various organizations and associations intend to report the election results and the election campaign on the day of the elections. They also intend to count the votes independently using their own capacities, systems, and connections, and to publish the election results independently. The Central Election Commission adopted a decision according to which BTA, Bulgarian Radio, Bulgarian Television, and the editorial boards of all newspapers and mass media are informed that the district and section election commissions are the only legal bodies that have the right to count the ballots cast by the voters and announce the results in a responsible and official manner. The general results, as well as the results of the voting at the multicandidate constituencies, may be announced only by the Central Election Commission. All articles on this theme may be published only if they are based on data provided by the election commissions. All other sources must be considered unofficial and their information cannot serve as basis of categorical and final conclusions about the results of the Grand National Assembly election. Such results can be obtained at the district election commissions and at the press center of the Central Election Commission in Sofia, in the building of the National Assembly.

All information related to the election results can be relayed through the aforementioned press center to various places in Sofia or other populated places. This will be the only official source of the results and conclusions related to the deputies' seats, the number of votes that have been cast, valid and invalid ballots, the number of votes received by each party or candidate, who are the candidates that have been elected, what parties have won the elections, and so forth.

## Prosecutor's Office on Election-Related Crimes

*AU2905180390 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—Three inquiries are in progress into murders and attempted murders. Forty-one preliminary investigations have been initiated for

crimes related to the election campaign. Preliminary checks-up are made of 25 cases. The crimes, according to an announcement released by the office of the prosecutor general, involve "hooliganism, damaging public property, threats for murder, insulting officials". Some of the offenders are still wanted.

In April the Office of the Prosecutor General gave instructions for giving priority to the investigation of crimes committed in connection with the election campaign.

### Rising Hostility in Campaign Condemned

*AU2905114690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian*
*25 May 90 p 1*

[Yuriy Popov commentary]

[Text] Smashed store windows, slogans painted on doors, the throwing of eggs, letters with vile contents, threats uttered over the telephone or face to face, and even physical beatings—all this has become part of the political atmosphere in Bulgaria. The temperature of passions is rising in the election campaign, causing a corresponding fall in the standard of human relations and unleashing the darker sides of our nature. This is no longer competition. Such acts promote enmity, whereas democracy and enmity differ like chalk and cheese.

Usually, manifestations of hostility toward a party group, an individual party member, or supporter are aimed at the other party as a whole. As a whole! This is as if the opposing party is made up of identical circles or squares that have no biographies, characters, or habits. Every such display of bad behavior, for it is nothing but that, is used to hurl accusations at the entire competing party, its program, ideology, origin, leaders, and intentions.... See here, this is what they are like! Please God, let them never take power! Such rowdy behavior very often comes from people who only represent themselves and only demonstrate their own stupidity, for stupidity can also be above the parties.

The members of every party vary in age, education, profession, and upbringing. Moreover, they are born different. Nevertheless, the idea of a party is a unifying factor. The parties have their leaders who give directions and set examples. Instead of fanning the flame lit by some immature person, they should remind him that it is always dangerous to play with fire. Things should be changed not by fire but by ideas.

Furthermore, we should not forget that the world will not end with the elections. How will we live and, more important, how will we work together in the future, if we now accumulate bitterness in our souls? It is surely our aim to do something better for Bulgaria, despite the differences in the methods by which we will achieve this. Whereas now we spend more time talking, then we will really have to work. Let us not now permit a few months to poison our mutual relations for years ahead.

### Draft Law on Land Explained

*AU2805175090 Sofia BTA in English*
*1705 GMT 28 May 90*

["Land Goes to Those Who Cultivate It"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—The main purpose of the Land Draft Law is to regulate the ownership of arable land based on the principle that the land should belong to those who cultivate it, Mr. Evtim Krustev, first deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry of Bulgaria, said at a news conference today [28 May].

The draft law proclaims the right of every Bulgarian citizen to acquire the ownership of arable land on the sole condition that it will be used for farming.

Bulgarian citizens living permanently abroad and foreign physical persons have no right to acquire arable land through transactions or by prescription.

The citizens and their heirs are restored to their property rights to the land given up upon their entry in the former cooperative farms.

All citizens who do not own any land but are willing to do farming are allowed to buy land for agricultural purposes.

Landowners can freely choose the form in which they will perform agricultural activity by setting up private farms, establishing cooperative farms for cultivating the land collectively or by forming other types of associations.

The draft law does not guarantee that all the land given up to the cooperative farms will be restored. It contains a rule according to which each household can own not more than 20 hectares of land, this figure being 30 hectares in mountainous regions and border areas.

To avoid any speculations with the land, the citizens are allowed to sell the land only to cooperative farms, other cooperative or public organizations, to the municipalities and the state.

### No Evidence of Illness From Chernobyl Found

*AU2905180690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian*
*26 May 90 p 2*

[Katya Karagyurova report: "Data on the Health Consequences of Chernobyl Is Reassuring"]

[Text] No increases have been observed either in the number or relative frequency of cases of still births, perinatal mortality, deformations, and deaths following the accident in Chernobyl, as compared with the figures for the preceding four years. The variations show no significant causal or consequential connection with the disaster.

The above is indicated by data received from the whole of the country's health-care system. These results bear

out certain reports received from Italian specialists who made their observations in northern Italy. There was only a short-term rise in the number of abortions in the year following the accident, which may be attributed either to a genetic radiation effect or to rejection of a desired pregnancy for psychological reasons.

These were some of the conclusions on the health consequences of the Chernobyl accident that were discussed at a two-day working session organized by the Medical Academy. The statistical data was collected and processed in our most authoritative institutes—the Scientific Institute on Nuclear Medicine, Radiobiology, and Radiation Hygiene, the Institute for Midwifery and Gynecology, the Military Medical Academy, and others.

According to Medical Acadamey Chairman Professor Asen Zhablenski, the data collected by various independent institutes shows no differences but can be interpreted differently.

The cancer specialists consider that at this stage there are no grounds for believing that Chernobyl is affecting the frequency of appearance of malignant tumors. Like many other countries in the world, cancer in Bulgaria is showing a tendency to increase. The actual incidence of cancer illnesses rose from 251.09 per 100,000 persons in 1986 to 253.48 per 100,000 in 1987, a mean annual increase of 2.39. This variation may be caused by very many factors, which cannot be attributed only to the Chernobyl accident.

After 1982, the indexes for cancer of the thyroid gland have stabilized. Bone cancers show a falling trend. Cases of breast cancer in women are increasing in Bulgaria more quickly than any other form. The highest level was reached in 1988, namely 55.41 per 100,000 women. During the last three years, there has been no marked increase in lung cancer.

The carcinogenic risk for the Bulgarian population from the Chernobyl accident is determined to be 441 cases of fatal malignant diseases and 816 curable cases, distributed unevenly over the next 50 years. However, the forecasts made by our scientists concerning the medical and biological consequences and the early and late effects are not claimed to be anything more than approximate.

The figures relating to the trends in the development of cancers, leukemias, bone cancers, and cancer of the thyroid gland among different age groups are reassuring, at least for the moment. In the future, it is possible that these will rise, even substantially, stated visiting Prof. Valery Berol, a World Health Organization expert working at the Oxford Cancer Research Institute.

## Lukanov Sees Signs of Economy Stabilizing

*AU2805085590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 May 90 p 1*

[Report by Dimitriana Aleksandrova and Evgeni Gavrilov: "Economy Shows Signs of Stabilization"]

[Text] When the government assumed its duties, quite a few people forecast that the Bulgarian economy would collapse in a short time. These expectations have not been confirmed. We face great difficulties and are in a state of crisis, but the Bulgarian economy has retained its vitality and relative stability, Andrey Lukanov stated at his regular meeting with journalists.

He supported his assertion with facts. Production is indeed falling, but at the expense of the nonpriority sectors. The level of consumer goods supplies is being maintained, and in certain cases is even increasing as compared with last year.

The expectations for May are optimistic. Goods output will rise by about 200 million leva over the April figures, and the average daily production will be about 10 percent higher than in the first four months of the year. There are signs of a trend toward a halt in the decline.

The current balance of payments in convertible currency continues to improve, and substantial growth in exports is expected. Market mechanisms are already operating in the field of foreign exchange.

Talks with the creditor banks are going well. The agreement on refinancing our foreign debt will probably be signed in June.

The problem of material and equipment supplies, the main obstacle to the production of more goods, will then be removed. We can also expect some improvement before then, from the unblocking of foreign credits allocated to Bulgaria, for example, by Italy.

It is not true that we are using material reserves earmarked for the second half of the year. Apart from paper, the prime minister is not aware of any other case. The free-market prices of agricultural products are falling.

The expectations of uncontrolled inflation have not been justified. Some price increases are taking place, especially in the sphere of services, but the increases as a whole are less than expected.

There is still no serious unemployment, and for the time being this problem can be overcome. New measures will soon be taken in the field of economic reform that will have an effect upon inflation and employment.

We must accelerate the speed of the changes, and this will be the main challenge for the new government. The present government team is submitting to parliament draft laws that would assist in this direction. According to Andrey Lukanov, the reform will not be successful unless the dismantling of the bureaucratic structures continues.

The prime minister has not reached any final decision, but this will probably be the last of his regular meetings with journalists. In two weeks' time, the elections will be very close, and he said that he would not like to "make propaganda," even in his position as leader of the government.

### First Private Bank Sells Shares to Public

*AU2605185490 Sofia BTA in English 1457 GMT 26 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 26 (BTA)—Over 1,000 investors have bought shares, 1,000 leva apiece, in the first private joint-stock commercial and credit bank in less than two weeks after it was incorporated. A natural person or a company may acquire up to 300 shares. The shareholders' investment is covered by all bank takings, but is assets and moneys on accounts with other banks in Bulgaria and abroad. [as received]

This first private bank in Bulgaria was established at the Union of Private Entrepreneurs, an association of nearly 1,000 companies. The bank has a statutory capital of 10 million leva. It can provide a full range of banking services and credit in Bulgarian leva and hard currency to all natural and juridical persons, Bulgarian and foreign, operating in private business.

"Experts determine the efficiency of the project to say whether the applicant is creditworthy," says the bank's president Mr. Ventsislav Yosifov.

The bank uses a market interest rate.

Mr. Valentin Molov, 35, president of the Union of Private Entrepreneurs, blames the incumbent government for ignoring almost everything in the union's economic platform. "Although business never gets directly involved in politics, I'm forced to call on our members to vote for the opposition Union of Democratic Forces. Only the opposition agrees with 95 per cent of our economic platform," he says.

Mr. Molov, who owns a building materials company, earns approximately 5,000 leva a month (the average monthly wage in this country is 240 leva), but wants to make 100,000. "And why not a million?" he says. "I'll plough my money back into further investment. I want to see Bulgaria an affluent society of contented people with a living standard above the average, and I don't want to return to the time when we were all equally poor. There was just a handful of people: the communist and the state oligarchy, which actually owned the means of production. I think this is still the case because nothing has changed with respect to ownership."

Mr. Molov wants to set up in Bulgaria a diamond cutters plant together wit. Swedish partners. Under the effective Decree No. 56 on Economic Activity, however, he can only sign ten workers.

"This decree is an impotent instrument," Mr. Molov says. "Still, I'm grateful to it because we owe it our existence. It is only a temporary solution which already gets in the way."

"I want business to be finally run by professionals, those who were in prison until recently," he says and cites the example of Mr. Biser Dimitrov of Plovdiv, who entered in a joint venture with Rank Xerox a couple of years ago, but bureaucrats ruined his initiative and he was imprisoned under the Zhivkov regime. Now Mr. Dimitrov is in California where he has made a name for himself as an expert and he is starting a business of his own. He cannot do so in Bulgaria "because he's got a pre-November 10, 1989, conviction for an economic crime he never committed."

The Union of Private Entrepreneurs has approached U.S. foundations for assistance in organising a business school in Sofia. "We have hard times because we've lagged far behind: Primary accumulation only begins in Bulgaria," Mr. Molov says. "I think the various plans for a half-hearted market economy are utopian. We'll either switch over to a market economy or we won't switch over."

### Rehabilitation of Ethnic Turks Announced

*AU2905164890 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 May 90 p 3*

[Text] Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, announced that a decision has been adopted on the civil and political rehabilitation of 517 persons who had been repressed without any reason during the campaign on the compulsory change of the names of citizens with Turkish ethnical self-awareness.

### Progress in Restoration of Muslim Names Noted

*AU2605185690 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 26 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 26 (BTA)—About one-fifth of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria have so far applied to the law courts to have their Muslim names restored after they were forced to change them for Bulgarian ones under the Todor Zhivkov regime in 1984 and 1985.

It seems, however, that most of those people take their time as they do not realize why they should get their names back by a law-court procedure.

In televised statement this evening [26 May] Mr. Pencho Penev, minister of justice, said that the restoration of Muslim names and the final remedying of the outrage committed by the old regime is going smoothly. "Only a law-court procedure provides a guarantee that the crimes of the past will never be repeated," he said. A total of 220,072 applications have been filed by May 21, 1990, and 180,602 of them have been considered.

The government has decided that the old name-changing applications which the Turks were forced to fill in should

be destroyed. Citizens who restore their Muslim names are issued backdated birth certificates.

On the same TV programme General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, said that the parliamentary commission of inquiry into the abuses of the ousted regime and the government had decided to grant full rehabilitation and release from prison 51 citizens who defied the name-changing orders five years ago. Compensation will be paid to them and to the heirs of the people who died in the riots which broke out over the name-changing campaign and in the exodus of Bulgarian citizens to Turkey.

### Bush-Gorbachev Summit Previewed

*AU3005093690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 May 90 p 6*

[Petur Bochukov article: "Doubts Disperse"]

[Text] Until a few days ago the forecasts of the forthcoming Bush-Gorbachev summit were careful and cautious. However, the closer we come to the date of the summit the more the doubts and skepticism are dispersing and making place for forecasts charged with hope.

The unexpected correction of the tone of preliminary commentaries was inspired by the success, or rather the anticipated compromise, for the START agreement that is being prepared, which was achieved during U.S. Secretary of State Baker's visit to Moscow last week. Nevertheless, despite the "breakthrough," some observers and politicians in both countries preserve a certain amount of skepticism. Many unknown factors remain. Crisis processes and phenomena are threatening the USSR and this, naturally, will reflect in the superpowers' talks. The contradictions in the assessments and forecasts could be explained by the rapid changes in the world since the two presidents' Malta meeting. Unusual talks without precedent in history will take place on 31 May in Washington. Recently, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE warned, albeit tacitly, that the possibility of retreating from the Malta agreements could not be excluded against the background of the complex character of the problems that should be resolved at the summit. U.S. Sovietologists, such as Professor Robert Legvold of Columbia University even expressed concern that the economic crisis will inevitably influence the USSR foreign policy in a negative way, and make it more difficult to predict. On the other hand, it is speculated that the U.S. administration will try to utilize the "strategic weakness" of the USSR in the disarmament talks. Already at the beginning of the year, when the preparations for the USSR-U.S. summit began, the political events in the USSR, including the Lithuanian independence crisis, gathered momentum. People started talking about the open resistance of the conservatives in the Armed Forces to Gorbachev. The German reunification—a complex foreign policy problem—emerged and added more concerns to those springing from the internal instability, the deteriorating economic crisis, and the acute nationalist contradictions. The very future of the Warsaw Pact has been placed under a question mark.

This is the reality, and a one-sided approach to it will lead to one-sided, imprecise, and often, wrong conclusions. Washington's behavior throughout this period showed an additional characteristic. Having been convinced on the basis of serious analysis that the changes in the USSR are neither tactical nor superficial, and that a reevaluation of the USSR domestic and international policy is actually taking place, the U.S. administration demonstrated an understanding of the directions of the changes and the difficulties that Gorbachev is experiencing, and at the same time rendered a certain amount of moral aid to Gorbachev's restructuring. Let us remember that already at the Malta meeting George Bush prepared a package of proposals on the economic issues, whose psychological and symbolic nature was aimed at demonstrating the U.S. readiness to help the USSR.

The White House's approach to the exceptionally delicate problems caused by the position of the Lithuanian leadership, which was firmly opposed by Moscow, is also quite untraditional. The U.S. administration, despite the pressure of the Congress, actually supported the search for a peaceful solution of the issue, without foreign interference, along the path of peaceful and constructive negotiations. This, undoubtedly, contributed to a change in the separatists' behavior and to a reassessment of the political situation on their part.

The recommendation of the U.S. President to the Coordination Committee for Multilateral Export Controls to reduce the restriction on the sale of computers, telecommunication equipment, and other high-technology products to the Soviet Union and the other East European countries was conceived in the same spirit. President George Bush declared at the same time that the United States renounces the modernization of the Lance missiles and of nuclear artillery in Europe, and he also proposed negotiations for the reduction and elimination of these weapons systems before the end of the Vienna negotiations.

These acts are not a response to some "Kremlin concessions" but an expression of the new approach that is based on the ideas of Soviet restructuring. This is not the approach of the stronger side to the weaker side and vice-versa. As far as the so-called "concessions" are concerned, Steven Meyer from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, quite appropriately pointed out in an article he wrote for THE NEW YORK TIMES: "Whenever we do not like Soviet policy, we look for the evil spirit prevailing over the good spirit. However, we are deluding ourselves in so thinking, considering that the Kremlin's policy is aimed at optimally serving the interests of the Soviet side, and not at serving our cause."

Now, following the most intense discussion since the present U.S. administration took over, as U.S. Secretary of State James Baker remarked, the road toward the next summit has been paved. The first step is the understanding by both sides of the nature of the radical changes that have

occurred in Europe and all over the world. This understanding should naturally be followed by real deeds. Thanks to this approach, the goal that Bush and Gorbachev set for themselves in Malta regarding the START negotiations was achieved in Moscow. The signing of this treaty is not expected to take place in Washington because there are still numerous unresolved questions. Nevertheless, the main obstacles have been eliminated and the joint declaration on the coordination of the future treaty's basic principles that the two presidents are expected to issue should be the crucial event of the summit. Both sides are confident that START shall be prepared and signed by the end of 1990.

The compromise reached in Moscow is related to two basic groups of problems on sea- and air-based cruise missiles. During Baker's preparatory mission, an agreement on the Soviet Union's and the United States' banning the production of chemical weapons and on their destruction by both sides as long as the international convention has not been enforced is also prepared for signing. The work on a joint declaration on the nonproliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons, of missiles and missile technology, is also about to be completed.

A few bilateral agreements on cooperation in the research of the world's oceans, on the establishment of cultural-information centers in Moscow and Washington, on separating sea territories in the Bering and Chukchee Sea, and an agreement on cooperation between the two countries' customs authorities are expected to be signed at the Washington summit meeting. A new trade agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union is also expected to be signed.

Numerous unresolved problems, especially those regarding the situation in Europe still exist. The profound differences on the future military-political status of united Germany still persist, and no progress has been achieved on the question of limiting conventional weapons. Despite all this, the successful solution of numerous difficult and complicated problems encourages our positive expectations on the eve of the Bush-Gorbachev meeting. Following James Baker's preparatory mission in Moscow, the shadows of doubt about the results of the forthcoming talks were dissipated. The transition from the era of "cold war" to the era of constructive confidence is expected to produce its first specific result within the coming days in Washington.

## Agreement Signed With French Banks on Credit

*AU2905155990 Sofia BTA in English*
*1526 GMT 29 May 90*

["French Banks Help Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA corr)—An agreement was signed today [29 May] at the Credit Lionnais Headquarters (the second-large French bank), which settles technical matters about the use of a credit agreement between Bulgaria and France for the allotment of a French credit to the amount of 300 million franks. This is the first bank agreement between Bulgaria and the West after the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank declared on March 29 that it temporarily stops payments of the principal.

Representatives of 14 French banks put today their signatures under this document, among which is the largest Banque Nationale de Paris. Coordinator of this banking pool is Credit Lionnais whose Deputy Director General Alexis Folkenstein told a BTA correspondent: "We believe that Bulgaria will find a solution to its currency problems."

Roger Godignaut, who is a chief economic adviser added: "France fulfilled all its engagements adopted during talks in Paris between Mr Michel Rocard and Mr Andrey Lukanov. We will continue to cooperate with your country and will help you as before."

Veselin Rankov, chairman of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank explained the trade significance of this credit to Bulgaria. "The 300 million credit will go for the purchase of French consumers goods which the Bulgarian market badly needs: agricultural produce of vegetable and animal origin, cans, leathers, fabrics, yarns and ready-to-wears, household electronics, small tonnage agricultural technique, various products of the foodstuffs industry."

## Nigeria Begins To Pay Debt to Nation

*AU2805203990 Sofia BTA in English*
*1949 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—As a result of talks by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations with the respective departments and ministries in Nigeria, an agreement has been achieved not to reschedule the payment of the amounts due on credit and that Nigeria start their repayment.

The first payment of 11.5 million dollars has already been remitted to Bulgaria.

### Vacek Cited on USSR Troop Withdrawals

*LD3005114290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] A news conference took place in Prague today with Army General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense. Among the newsmen present was editor Bernard Rostecky, whom we asked by telephone for more detailed information.

[Begin Rostecky recording] In his opening speech, Army General Miroslav Vacek assessed positively the preparations and training of the recruits who have already joined their regular units. He also spoke positively about the training of rocket and artillery troops and the air-defense units, the training of which is now culminating by firing practice in the training grounds in the Soviet Union and over the Baltic Sea.

The minister dwelled in particular on the Soviet troop withdrawal from our homeland. He noted that the tasks of the first stage of the withdrawal, which will end tomorrow, have been fulfilled and even exceeded in many cases. By this morning 26,827 Soviet troops have left the republic. The total balance yesterday was 551 tanks; 400 more infantry combat vehicles left than planned; 11 military garrisons were completely vacated. Another 19 garrisons will be vacated in the second stage from 1 June until 31 December.

However, General Vacek has avoided neither the problems nor the difficulties against which the army presently struggles. One of them is also an incorrect interpretation of the law on civilian service. Up till now already 7,849 compulsory service soldiers have asked for it. Of them 3,153 have already left the army. The minister voiced the view that many applicants count on the benevolence of our laws and that their application for civilian service is motivated by self interest. Replying to our question of when the true data on the republic's defense expenditure will be published the minister noted by the middle of next month. [end recording]

### Landsbergis To Travel to CSFR via Moscow

*LD2905181190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 May 90*

[Correspondent Petr Voldan report from Moscow]

[Text] According to reports from Vilnius, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, departed by air tonight for Moscow, from where he is planning to travel to Prague tomorrow morning. As Henrikas Savickas, ELTA press agency deputy director, told me in a telephone conversation from Vilnius, he is to take part in the Day of Solidarity with Lithuania there.

This trip is Vytautas Landsbergis' very first one in his new post beyond the borders of the Baltic republics. So far he has not even been to Moscow in his capacity as chairman of Lithuanian parliament. In the Soviet capital, no meeting between Vytautas Landsbergis and Soviet official representatives has so far been planned. According to the report from the Lithuanian capital, the visit to the CSFR will take place at the invitation of President Vaclav Havel, whom the Lithuanian representative is due to meet in Prague.

### Landsbergis Arrives in Prague

*LD3005112290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, arrived in Prague at Midday today. He has arrived for a visit to Czechoslovakia at the personal invitation of President Vaclav Havel.

### Commentary on Upcoming U.S.-USSR Summit

*AU2905160890 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 May 90 p 3*

["(kb)"-signed commentary: "The Preparations for the Summit Are (Almost) Complete"]

[Text] The traditionally broad scope of the agenda reflects the new East European and Soviet political scene—that is how the course of the proceedings could be characterized in which Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker (accompanied by no fewer than five large groups of experts) prepared the upcoming summit of the presidents of the USSR and the United States, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush.

Despite the fact that the heads of diplomatic representation in Moscow were obviously pressed for time—after all, M. Gorbachev's visit to the United States will commence on 30 May—and despite the disappointment expressed over the outcome of the preparatory proceedings by many observers (as well as by many fellow journalists), in our assessment, J. Baker and E. Shevardnadze have completed a tremendous piece of work during the past few days.

They prepared a rich program for the summit and let us again stress that it is the first Soviet-U.S. summit meeting under the entirely new international conditions. It is a great piece of work, above all, because they managed to overcome the most fundamental controversies in connection with the preparation of the treaty on a fifty-percent reduction in strategic strike weapons. This still provides an opportunity to sign this treaty this year (and it might be at least initialed at the summit). The prospects for adopting an agreement regarding the constraints on chemical weapons are realistic and protocols on the limitation of underground nuclear tests are ready to be signed. That is in addition to the fact that the USSR and the United States are also supposed to sign agreements on further imports of U.S. grain to the Soviet Union, on cooperation in numerous areas, and on trade....

Thus, actually the only more substantial "shadow" consisting of the extant controversies or mutual misunderstandings between the two superpowers are the problems connected with the future of a unified Germany (particularly with respect to its membership in the current military political blocs), the problems concerning conventional weapons in Europe, and finally, Moscow's attitude toward the efforts of the Baltic states to achieve independence.

Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will deal in Washington and at Camp David in Maryland with all these problems as the U.S. President confirmed to journalists on Sunday. One can assume—as demonstrated by even the most complex Soviet-U.S. summits in the past—that a solution can be found here to the controversial problems which is mutually acceptable and which is so necessary for the world. It is expected that during the upcoming trip, Mikhail Gorbachev will at least present his plan for the future order in Europe. Therefore, it is possible to regard as realistic Bush's comment on Sunday [20 May] that the report on James Baker's dealings in Moscow is encouraging and that next week we will experience a "good summit."

### Dubcek Assesses Moscow Talks

*LD2905201490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 May 90*

[Statement by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed and dear fellow citizens. A few days late—caused by influenza—I stand in front of you to present a report on my visit to the Soviet Union. The mass media informed you at the time about our talks and meetings. I would therefore like to tell you, above all, what this visit meant for me personally, what it has brought for us. Without reducing the importance and significance of all other meetings, the greatest attention was focused, however, on my talks with President Mikhail Gorbachev. I can say that it was of fundamental importance for me. Despite the declaration of Soviet representatives that they consider the decision of the Soviet leadership in August 1968 as unjustified, I still felt that there was an obstacle between us which prevented a better mutual understanding. I was not after any formal apology, but the consequences of the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, the halting of reforms, the persecution of people, the support to the normalizators, the 20 years of stagnation were all on my mind, and acted as an existing, an unhealed wound.

Mikhail Gorbachev again confirmed the strategic mistake of the Brezhnev leadership, the result of which was the halting of reforms, not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in the Soviet Union. The correction of matters has come late, he said, but it is better late than never. The Soviet Union has to become different for this to happen. And with this different Soviet Union, we met with other leading representatives whom I had known in the past. Those meetings were for me, and for all those who in 1968 were engaged in the reform movement, a satisfaction, the recognition of work, and a sacrifice which was not in vain and which will, as I am convinced, bring fruits in the Soviet Union itself.

I am glad that this meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev took place. What has happened has happened, we all know this very well. That which has happened cannot be taken back, but the year 1968 will not be for us and for the new Soviet leadership a reproach but a permanent lesson that no force can prevent an idea which is true from being asserted.

It remains to remove the final obstacle—the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev entrusted me to tell you all that the withdrawal of Soviet troops will not be slowed down and will continue according to the mutual agreement set out. This was his reply to some conjecture in connection with the slowing down of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR, which was caused by other reasons. Today we have the support of the Soviet leadership in realizing democratic changes. Similar processes are also taking place in the Soviet Union. We spoke about them in some detail. Mikhail Gorbachev informed me about the problems of Soviet perestroyka. He spoke openly and critically about their difficulties. He once again confirmed his decision not to leave the path on which they have set out, which will be very difficult and complicated for a year, or maybe two. Despite this, he told me, I will continue forward along this path.

I also heard with interest information about the problems of our democratization process and economic reform, about which we spoke together. I assured him of full support for Soviet perestroyka, which I have expressed and supported always and everywhere. We agreed that it is not possible to go back, either in Czechoslovakia or in the Soviet Union. We spoke openly about many questions, about the Baltic area, which requires patience, mutual concensus, and sensible solutions without confrontation, about the international situation, in particular about the strengthening of European and world security. Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that these measures cannot take place at the expense of the Soviet Union, and I understood this completely.

We agreed that the unification of Europe should take place with the participation of the Soviet Union, because the borders of Europe do not end in Poland but in the Urals. I also emphasized this point in all our talks, and I also explained that we understand the question of the unification of Europe also in connection with the processes which are taking place in the Soviet Union, and we also understand this as part of the unification process of the Soviet Union.

We perceive the unification of Germany as a part of the unification of Europe, given the guarantees of security for all the European countries, and above all for Germany's neighbors.

During our talks with President Gorbachev, Lukyanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and other representatives, we paid special attention to our future relations. The past is behind us. In front of us there are opportunities for new cooperation, as were established by the declaration signed by President Vaclav Havel and Mikhail Gorbachev in February this year. We have traditions of long standing, and economic links which cannot be neglected. The Soviet Union was and probably will be among our most important economic partners. The development of economic relations on a new basis is in our own interest. We agreed that also in the new conditions, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia need each other. Our integration in the world, and above all in the European economic system, does not in any way hinder this cooperation. Even more so because the Soviet Union again stressed its strict and unequivocal respect for our right to freely choose our way and models of our development. The new policy of the Soviet Union and our republic will help preserve and multiply the good and useful things which were and are in the cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

There is one more question I would like to mention. Some actions provoking anti-Soviet feeling have taken place. I think that they are motivated above all by the past, and by fears that the past will be repeated. These sentiments damage Czechoslovakia's reputation of a cultured country and throw a shadow on our necessary cooperation with the new leadership of the Soviet Union. This is not a cultured expression. These actions are not in the interest of new Czechoslovak policy and undermine in the Soviet Union the things which are, for us and the entire world, a guarantee of a peaceful, progressive, democratic development.

Esteemed fellow citizens, all our talks were characterized by openness and realism, whether I spoke with President Gorbachev; Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; the chairmen of the two chambers, Laptev and Nishanov; deputy Yeltsin; Moscow Mayor Popov; Vorontsov, chairman of the State Committee for protection of the environment; poets Yevtushenko and Rozhdestvenskiyi; journalists Yakovlev and Bovin; director Lyubimov; actors Arbatov and Shmelov, and others.

I also met those who in 1968 raised their voices in defense of Czechoslovakia against the military intervention. I cannot remember this meeting without emotion. I also honored the memory of the great man Andrey Sakharov. I put flowers on the grave of Khrushchev, who was the first to break the icebergs of Stalinism.

I am glad that our talks had this character. They testify to the deep changes which took place in our country as well as in the Soviet Union. They testify to the fact that we are on the good and, I think, also correct way.

During the last few months I visited a number of countries: Austria, Spain, Canada, the United States, and France. I held talks with many representatives. I found understanding and appreciation of our work everywhere. We are just at the beginning of a difficult way toward democracy and market economy. It will require great effort and self-sacrifice by all of us. Let us do everything not to disappoint trust which we acquired at home as well as with the world public. I believe that our behavior in the forthcoming elections will be free of emotions, malice, mutual attacks, and that in this way we will strengthen Czechoslovakia's reputation as a cultured, spiritually developed country which fully deserves its place among the democratic states of the world.

## Dubcek's Visit to Moscow Viewed

*AU2905171290 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 May 90 p 4*

[Jozef Zelenak commentary: "Let Us Close a Chapter"]

[Text] Official Czechoslovak-Soviet relations during the past 20 years have resembled an ice-covered wilderness more than fraternal relations as we have pretended. The ice is breaking. After President Havel, it was A. Dubcek who visited Moscow—this time not as a prisoner, but as a guest of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He came as the parliamentary chairman from a country with which the USSR has international relations—based on equal rights—governed by the declaration signed by M. Gorbachev and V. Havel.

Dubcek's talks with the Soviet president, A. Lukyanov, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, and A. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Relations, as well as the talks conducted by other members of the CSFR Federal Assembly with their Soviet partners were characterized by a spirit of mutual understanding and by efforts to search for the things that unite us. One dark chapter of our history—the forceful suppression of Czechoslovak social changes in 1968 by the Soviet Army—has been, as it seems, closed. If Vaclav Havel's visit to the USSR meant that the Soviet side recognized that the military intervention in Czechoslovak affairs was unjustified, then A. Dubcek's presence closes this chapter in the book of our relations.

At the news conference, Alexander Dubcek—in his response to the frequent questions posed by journalists—stressed that Czechoslovakia intends to remain a Warsaw Pact and CEMA member. These organizations will have to assume new contents, however. The same thing can be said about relations with the USSR, relations which will develop at various levels. The parliaments of our countries have similar structures and face similar problems. We will jointly help to overcome the division of Europe into military pacts and we will proceed toward the creation of a new system of European security, toward fair and fruitful cooperation among all nations—participants in the pan-European process.

Despite the fact, however, that an uneasy chapter in our mutual relations has been closed, one startling fact

cannot be overlooked—the almost absolute silence by the Soviet communication media about Dubcek's visit to Moscow. Quite a number of important dailies, which did not even mention this visit, could be pointed out! To say nothing of the fact that A. Dubcek met with a group of Soviet citizens who, in August 1968, protested against the military intervention in Czechoslovakia and who were severely punished.

During his visit to Moscow, A. Dubcek did not reject a single journalist who was interested in talking to him. He also responded to the question asked by an Austrian television reporter at a cemetery, where academician Sacharov is buried. Dubcek paid respect to Sacharov's memory and expressed his regrets that he had not been able to meet him.

Dubcek's other meetings with USSR peoples' deputies, representatives of science, culture, and art as well as with ordinary citizens, were marked by a spirit of humanity.

### Results of Penultimate Preelection Poll

*AU2905131890 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 May 90 p 3*

["her"-signed report: "The Civic Forum Is Making a Spurt; What the Penultimate Preelection Poll Indicated"]

[Text] A survey carried out by the Institute for Public Opinion Research between 11 and 17 May 1990, based on a representative sample of 2,000 citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, sounded out public opinion halfway through the official election campaign.

The proportion of eligible voters who are determined to participate in the elections increased from 61 percent in mid-April to 72 percent; 26 percent are still hesitant; and 2 percent are determined not to participate.

As during the preceding surveys, respondents were asked for which political party they would vote if the elections were to take place next week. However, this time they did not have to reply "from memory" but, for the first time, were able to choose from the complete list of parties which are running in the elections. What, then, does the most recent ranking look like? (The figures in brackets are data from the previous survey, carried out in late April and early May) The Civic Forum and Public Against Violence movement come first with 32 percent (25 percent), followed by the Christian and Democratic Union and the Christian Democratic Movement with 16 percent (17 percent), the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with 13 percent (12 percent), the Green Party with 8 percent (11 percent), the Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside with 4 percent (3 percent), the Czechoslovak Socialist Party with 3 percent (5 percent), the Czechoslovak Social Democracy with 3 percent (5 percent), the Democratic Party with 2 percent (4 percent), the Slovak National Party with 2 percent (0 percent), the Society for Moravia and Silesia with 2 percent (0 percent), and all other parties with 8 percent (1 percent). About 7 percent of the those questioned are still undecided. Among a relatively large proportion of voters, the endorsement of a certain party or movement is not clearcut; almost one-third of those questioned stated that their intentions may still change. The Institute for Public Opinion Research continues to conduct its surveys. The publication of the latest data (the last before the elections) can be expected toward the end of next week.

### Growing Dissatisfaction With Political Situation

*AU3005080990 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 May 90 p 7*

["c"-signed report: "Chances and Expectations; Results of the Survey Czechoslovakia—May 1990"]

[Text] General satisfaction of the public with the political situation and development has clearly declined. Sixty-six percent of citizens are very satisfied or rather satisfied, while in January the number was 86 percent. Satisfaction declined more in Slovakia (by 25 percent—from 83 percent to 58 percent) than in Bohemia and Moravia (by 16 percent—from 86 percent to 70 percent). Concerning overall assessment of the results of the November revolution, 45 percent of citizens feel that "in the beginning, it went well. Recently, however, it somehow turned sour." Satisfaction was expressed by 26 percent, objections by 25 percent. Nevertheless, still only four percent of those surveyed claim that the development is wrong in principle. The very optimistic expectations for the future displayed in January, when almost one- third believed that an entirely new political system would be created in Czechoslovakia, were replaced by a more realistic and more skeptical attitude. This is especially valid in Slovakia. Thirteen percent of citizens declare that it will only mean a reshuffle of people in positions of power, but otherwise not much will change (Czech Republic [CR] 11 percent, Slovak Republic [SR] 18 percent); very complex development is expected by 39 percent (CR 37 percent, SR 42 percent); long-term development with constant and visible progress toward permanent democracy is expected by 43 percent of citizens (CR 47 percent, SR 35 percent); rapid and problem-free development by only 5 percent of citizens (identical in both republics).

A firm intent to take part in the elections was expressed by 73 percent of citizens (CR 78 percent, SR 64 percent); 16 percent are likely to vote (CR 14 percent, SR 19 percent); 4 percent are determined not to vote or unlikely to vote (CR 3 percent, SR 7 percent); not decided as yet are 7 percent (CR 5 percent, SR 10 percent).

The two leading candidates for victory are characterized by the diverse features of their potential voters. Civic Forum has more support from young and middle-aged citizens with university education living in larger cities. The Christian Democrats, on the other hand, get more support from older citizens with low education who live in small communities.

Unambiguous is the voters' position regarding the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Fewer than 72 percent of those who identified themselves as Communist Party of Czechoslovakia members would vote their party. At the time of the survey, 63 percent of those polled would under no circumstances vote for it (CR 70 percent, SR 47 percent). In Slovakia, 26 percent of citizens would definitely not vote for the Romany coalition; all the other parties received far less than 10 percent of these "negative" votes.

There are tumultuous arguments about further existence and activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. At present, the statement by the historic democratic parties demanding a suspension of the activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia vitalized these arguments. This party really does not enjoy the public's favor: Sixty-three percent of those asked believe that if the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won in the elections, it would behave in the same totalitarian fashion as in the past (CR 68 percent, SR 54 percent); only 31 percent (CR 26 percent, SR 39 percent) trust that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will democratically protect the rights and interests of workers and that it will safeguard social security. Nonetheless, a definite agreement with the idea that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia should be banned from taking part in the elections was indicated by only 24 percent of those polled; 15 percent would agree with the ban. More than 60 percent (CR 60 percent, SR 63 percent) would not approve of such a solution. That means that the majority of citizens do not trust the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and would not vote for it but, at the same time, they believe that one must use democratic processes and political means for a victory over this party.

In the upcoming period, above all, the changes in the economy will apparently remain at the center of attention. From four possibilities, the respondents selected as the key problem in the upcoming period the introduction of the basic economic reforms—41 percent. Only after a gap in rating followed the radical improvement of the living environment (29 percent), the development of freedom and democracy (16 percent), and opening to the advanced countries and integration into Europe (14 percent).

Compared to January, there is a substantial shift in the citizens' attitude toward Czechoslovak economic development. The majority perceives the situation more realistically and are more aware of the difficulties ahead. In January, the "harder" and faster type of "tightening the belts" would have been picked by 43 percent of citizens (CR 43 percent, SR 42 percent); in May, their share increased to 58 percent, especially due to the growth in Bohemia and Moravia (CR 61 percent, SR 51 percent). At the same time, however, concerns over the future, the fear of the unknown, have grown.

Electoral preferences of citizens over 18 years of age in the period from 28 April to 12 May 1990 in percent

[numbers to left of party names represent party's number on election ballot]

| | Bohemia and Moravia | Slovakia | CSFR |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 Civic Forum | 32.9 | — | 22.3 |
| 17 Christian Democratic Movement | — | 29.1 | 9.8 |
| 18 Green Party | 10.4 | 8.8 | 9.8 |
| 10 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia | 9.4 | 10.8 | 9.8 |
| 23 Christian and Democratic Union | 9.8 | — | 6.6 |
| 5 Public Against Violence | — | 13.1 | 4.5 |
| 2 Democratic Party | — | 8.2 | 2.9 |
| 21 Social Democracy | 5.1 | 2.2 | 4.1 |
| 3 Czechoslovak Socialist Party | 4.9 | 0.6 | 3.5 |
| 11 Alliance of Agrarians and the Countryside | 4.0 | 4.2 | 4.1 |
| 16 Slovak National Party | — | 3.8 | 1.3 |
| 6 Free Bloc | 2.4 | 0.7 | 1.8 |
| 20 Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia | 2.0 | — | 1.3 |
| 22 Party of Friends of Bier | 2.0 | — | 1.3 |
| 1 Freedom Party | — | 2.1 | 0.7 |
| 12 Coexistence—Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement | 0.0 | 2.0 | 0.7 |
| Others under two percent | 4.9 | 2.5 | 4.2 |
| Undecided | 12.2 | 11.9 | 11.3 |
| Number of respondents | 1,791 | 919 | 2,710 |

## Skepticism Over Freedom of Elections

*AU3005070690*

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 28 May on page 3 carries a 750- word Petr Topinka commentary entitled "Election Speculation and Fraud." The commentator charges that the June elections "will not be all that free."

Topinka first objects to the publication of various preelection polls. He says that "the purpose of the published surveys is evident—to win voters for the party with the largest number of respondents' votes and to discourage them from voting for parties which, supposedly, will not reach five percent in one of the two republics."

Next, Topinka criticizes the five-percent clause restricting parties' access to parliamentary seats as "an absurdity of our electoral law." The argument put forward by the advocates of this clause—namely, that a parliament composed of too many political parties will not be able to come to an agreement—"does not hold water" in Topinka's opinion. He points out that, in contrast to deputies representing political parties, which

are bound by party discipline, some political movements are fielding candidates in this year's elections "who are not bound in any way by the election program and who can, and do, say in parliament whatever they please or what just occurs to them. No one can make such deputies accountable for the damage they may cause." In view of this fact, "it is evident that the future parliament will have to grapple with the same (if not greater) problem of bringing opinions into line as a parliament in which all political parties running in the elections would be represented." In Topinka's opinion, the five-percent clause is also discriminatory against ethnic minorities, social groups, and newly established small parties.

Topinka concludes his commentary by saying: "To sum it all up—the questionable results of opinion polls, the purposeful propaganda against small parties and, in part, also against historical political parties, and the existence of the absurd five-percent clause are all unmistakable signs that the 1990 free elections will not be all that free."

### Legislation on Political Parties' Assets Detailed

*AU2905092790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 90 pp 1,2*

[Marie Konigova report: "A Decision Regarding Property Has Been Made"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—The CSFR Federal Assembly Presidium passed legal measures regarding the property of political parties, movements, and social organizations yesterday. It also reacted to the declaration by the chairmen of the four parties who demanded the suspension of CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] activity.

In this regard, the Presidium states that it did not obtain any formal proposal. The CPCZ's existence is anchored in the law on political parties passed by the Federal Assembly this January. According to the valid legal regulations, the CPCZ is a part of a multiparty system. That is why the Presidium does not intend—based on political and constitutional reasons—to discuss this matter.

The legal provision concerning property forbids transfers of real estate owned by political parties and social organizations belonging to the National Front, its organs, and components having the status of a legal entity if they received subsidies from the state budget after 31 December 1989. This provision has no effect if the new owner is—or will be—the state. The Federal Ministry of Finance will approve financial transactions of the aforementioned organizations in the case that more than 5,000 korunas is involved. The injunction concerns term deposits with banks and saving banks; it does not concern current accounts. Legal acts carried out by parties and organizations in contradiction to this provision are void and null. The government can allow exceptions to this injunction which does not permit the establishment of new enterprises and economic units by the aforementioned institutions and does not permit financial contributions to be made to already existing enterprises.

Another part of the provision relates to the determination of property, real estate transfers, and real estate transactions. Political parties and movements, civic associations and their organs and components—having the status of a legal entity—and legal representatives from the National Front are obliged to make a list of such transactions. This applies to property (as of 30 April 1990) and financial transactions and transfers as of 1 November 1989 until this provision comes into force.

For the development of further political life in the CSFR the time limit of the provision is important—it ends as of 30 September of this year. By that time the Federal Assembly should pass a law regulating the property of the parties.

### Parties Fight 'Five-Percent' Clause

*LD2805223790 Prague CTK in English 1928 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 28 (CTK)—The representatives of 13 political movements, parties and coalitions expressed here today their disapproval of the five per cent clause in the election law, under which parties and movements, which will not receive five per cent of votes, will not be represented in legislative bodies.

In an open letter, addressed to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, the authors criticized the clause which bars the newly elected legislative bodies from reflecting fully the renewed political pluralism. The whole formulation of the election law is a result of discussion of parliament that was not elected and does not correspond to the current spectrum of opinions in Czechoslovakia, the letter said.

The authors urged the Federal Assembly and republic parliaments to issue measures that would rectify this state of discrimination.

### Parties Call for Televised Campaign Debates

*AU2905162890*

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 26 May on page 1, under the headline "What Will Be Done With the Results of the Screenings," carries a 750-word "(GE)"-signed report on the Civic Forum news conference held in Prague on 25 May. The news conference was chaired by Petr Kucera and Ivan Gabal.

According to Kucera, the Civic Forum Coordination Center will be informed of the results of the screenings—to be carried out by the Interior Ministry—by 4 June. He said that those candidates "who cannot have the voters' trust will have the opportunity to withdraw from the elections; if they do not do this themselves, they will be recalled." He denied that this is tantamount to publishing the names of those who failed the screening

process. He added: "Every candidate has, and still has, enough time to withdraw from the elections."

Experiences from the election campaign were also discussed at the news conference. According to Ivan Gabal, the preelection situation seems "favorable" to the Civic Forum and the public's interest in political and social affairs is increasing. Candidates concur in the opinion that "people in the countryside are still afraid of the old political and economic structures which seem more stable and unaltered there than in the cities."

It was revealed at the news conference that the televised election campaign was discussed by the political parties at the roundtable on Thursday (24 May). They agreed that it would be "advantageous to hold a public debate in front of the cameras." They also agreed on the main topics: economic reform, social policy, ecology, and nationality issues. However, it will be more difficult to implement this than it seems at first glance. "We do not want the debate to be comprised of 22 one-minute speeches delivered by the political parties' representatives."

According to Petr Kucera, "the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement are the only real guarantee of Czechoslovakia's unity." He added that support for the VPN has "increased significantly" in Slovakia in the last few days.

## Parties Discuss Agricultural Reform

*LD2905205690 Prague CTK in English 1337 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Bratislava May 29 (CTK)—All forms of ownership in agriculture were supported by representatives of the Public Against Violence, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Democratic Party at a press conference here today.

Reprsentatives of the Democratic Party pointed out the efforts of the party, relying traditionally on the farmers and the countryside, at restoring the respect for land, farmers' social certainties and at returning the land to original owners before 1948.

The Public Against Violence representatives supported privatization and free enterprise and stressed the significance of deliberate procedure in the solution of the problems in agriculture.

Representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement underlined the senselessness of the existence of big agricultural units, accentuated equality of all forms of ownership and moral principles in the solution of the ownership relations and relation to land.

Communist Party representatives stressed their support for the foundation of private agricultural ventures.

## Nationality Representation in Elections Assessed

*LD2805114390 Prague CTK in English 1026 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 28—Great attention is now focused in Czechoslovakia on arrangement of the life of nationalities and that is why new political parties and movements fighting for the interests and needs of not only the two major nations of the federation—Czech and Slovaks, but also other nationality groups are cropping up before the June parliamentary elections.

The more than 15 million population of Czechoslovakia consists of 9,800,000 Czech and 5,010,000 Slovaks, and the rest are traditional nationality minorities—Hungarians, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians and some others.

Twenty-two political parties, movements and coalitions running their candidates for the June 8-9 elections proclaim interest in equality-based coexistence of nations and nationalities in the Czechoslovak federation.

The Slovak National Party, for instance, counts with cooperation of nationality minorities eliminating expressions of chauvinism and extreme nationalism.

A distinct among nationality movements is "Egyutteles-Spoluzitie- Wspolnota-Souziti-Spivzhittia-Zusammenleben", meaning coexistence, defends and interests of all nationality minorities Hungarians (600,000), Poles (over 70,000), Ukrainians (almost 50,000) and Germans.

The number of Germans living in Czechoslovakia is now much lower than after World War II as the Potsdam Conference in 1945 on the future of Germany decided that Germans living in Czechoslovkaia's border areas be resettled.

While in 1945, before the resettlement, there were 2.7 million Germans living in Czechoslovakia, the number dropped to 190,000 after it. Now they total about 50,000. The "Coexistence" movement forms a coalition with the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement advocating, inter alia, the equality of nations and nationalities.

Interests of nationalities are defended also by the Czechoslovak Understanding Movement which came into existence in reaction to spreading nationalism and chauvinism on both the Slovak and Czech sides, and on the side of nationality minorities.

Originally Slovak, the movement has spread throughout Czechoslovakia and won followers among all nationalities.

The interests of Romanies are represented on the coalition list of Romanies associating the Democratic Romanies's Union Party and the Romanies' Integration Party in Slovakia. Another political party—the Romanies' Civic Initiative—is represented on the list of the

Civic Forum political movement. Throughout the past forty years, with the exception of the short period of the Prague Spring revival movement in 1968, the Romanies were not viewed as a nationality minority, but an ethnic group. Now they are regarded as a nationality minority, and their number is estimated at 700,000- 800,000.

The civic movement "Hungarian Independent Initiative" runs its candidates on the list of the Slovak political movement Public Against Violence. The initiative associates Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia. Its goals include eliminiation of mutual distrust between the Czech and Slovaks, and cooperation with the Public Against Violence movement.

The organization of Independent Romanians withdrew from the parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia arguing that bureaucratic attitudes are taken towards it. Some 10,000 Romanians live in Czechoslovakia.

### People's Party Qualifies Statement on CPCZ Ban

*AU2905142090 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 May 90 p 1*

[Petr Novacek report: "The People's Party Has Made a Blunder"]

[Excerpts] The regular news conferences given by the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Presidium are becoming increasingly exciting affairs, owing mainly to questions concerning the activity of the Federal Ministry of Interior headed by Dr. Richard Sacher, a CSL member. Regrettably, even our newspaper has for some time been forced to express serious reservations about the methods used by the minister and his ministerial department. Yesterday's issue No. 21 of [the youth weekly] MLADY SVET [Young World] also subjects Dr. Sacher to extensive criticism. As transpired at yesterday's news conference, Minister Sacher's deputy, Engineer M. Kral, invited the MLADY SVET chief editor to his office on Wednesday [23 May] to try to persuade him to withdraw the weekly's issue No. 21 from distribution. Minister Dr. Sacher said that he did not know about this matter and that his deputy, Engineer Kral, apparently discovered some discrepancies in the article concerned with the Federal Ministry of Interior's work. [passage omitted]

Replying to a ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY question about the CSL's motives for joining last week's call by four political parties for suspending the activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia before the elections, CSL Deputy Chairman B. Svoboda said the following: "This move was prompted mainly by reports from the countryside about the intimidation, by Communists, of pensioners and other socially weaker groups of the population. However, we were somewhat overhasty in signing the appeal in question. It was signed on behalf of the CSL by myself, and not by Dr. Bartoncik, following consultation with the narrow party leadership. At a subsequent session of the CSL Presidium, also different views on this matter were heard," Dr. Svoboda said.

Dr. J. Cerny, CSL general secretary, on the other hand, expressed the opinion that the statement by the four parties is grounded in reality and in this connection he took exception to the standpoint of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, which described the statement as an act of political immaturity.

As Dr. Svoboda correctly stated, in a democratic society, and even in a political party, there can be different opinions on one and the same issue. Even the CSL leadership itself has apparently arrived at the conclusion that this time it made a blunder. As a matter of fact, even Minister Sacher stressed that in a democratic society there is a place even for a Communist Party—one, however, which is different from today's Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. "I believe that administrative bans do not strengthen but rather weaken democracy," he concluded.

### People's Party Complains About Media Coverage

*LD2505114890 Prague CTK in English 1537 GMT 24 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—At a press conference here today, Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Bohumil Svoboda said his party was concerned about some articles carried by the independent daily LIDOVE NOVINY and by CTK.

Mr. Svoboda appreciated the "decency" of the election campaign but said that LIDOVE NOVINY did not stick to the agreement the People's Party had with the Civic Forums, namely that they would not attack each other.

On CTK (whose director-general Petr Uhl is on the Civic Forum list of candidates), Mr. Svoboda said that his party had a "well- founded feeling that our statements at various conferences are misinterpreted". He mentioned in this conection CTK's interpretation of the article in the Austrian magazine PROFIL attacking party chief Bartoncic. (CTK's note: this article was just translated from German).

It was indicated at the press conference that CTK censored news, claiming that, as a government news agency, it could not carry statements of a political party. (CTK's note: CTK routinely carries statements of political parties, including the Czechoslovak People's Party. This party's statement on the PROFIL article was carried in full on May 14.]

### Mazaryk Democratic Movement Revived in Prague

*LD2605094290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 24 May 90*

[Text] [Announcer] A constituent assembly of the Masaryk Democratic Movement took place in the Central Club of Education and Science in Prague today. Our editor Zita Senkova reports on the deliberations:

[Senkova] Nowadays, when lost liberty is being found again and our nations are awaking from a deep moral attenuation, there is a need to follow up the humanitarian and democratic ideals of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, and this is one of the main aims of the renewed Masaryk Democratic Movement society. Dr. Emil Ludvik becames its chairman at today's constituent session. The voluntary social organization, which is open to the cititzens of the whole state, wants to follow up the legacy of the first Czechoslovak president and contribute toward returning to the moral and human values, which constitute the guarantee of democracy.

[Announcer] So much from our editor Zita Senkova. We only add that Vaclav Havel, Alexander Dubcek, Radim Palous, Rafael Kubelik, Vlasta Chramostova, and Joser Svejcar are honorary members of the Masaryk Democratic Movement.

### Ministry Warns Against Anti-USSR Protests

*AU2905111690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 May 90 p 2*

[CTK report: "Federal Ministry of Interior Announcement"]

[Text] Prague— In connection with the holding of protest actions in the vicinity of buildings of foreign missions—particularly the Soviet Embassy building in Prague-6—during the last couple of days, the Federal Ministry of Interior cautions citizens to refrain from gathering in front of the buildings of foreign missions in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. In case of noncompliance, members of the National Security Corps will be forced to take vigorous action in the interest of the observance of international treaties on the protection of foreign diplomatic missions.

### Interior Ministry on Magazine Revelations

*AU2905112890 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 May 90 p 2*

["cka"-signed report: "Scandal in Installments"]

[Text] Prague— "State Security—The Carefully Suppressed Scandal." It is with this text, instead of the usual cover photograph, that the just published issue No. 21 of [the youth weekly] MLADY SVET [Young World] attracts attention. The rumor was making the rounds in Prague yesterday that MLADY SVET had been withdrawn from sale and that its chief editor, Lubos Beniak, had been imprisoned, or at least interrogated, in connection with the main material carried by this issue. What is the truth? "Mr. Kral, the deputy minister of interior, rang me up and expressed the wish to talk to me," Lubos Beniak told us. "He offered to send a car to fetch me. The conversation was also attended by Mr. Hirt, Minister Sacher's secretary. They both showed displeasure at the material which we had published and said that a disinformation campaign was being waged against Mr. Sacher, orchestrated from abroad. I rejected any links between this claim and MLADY SVET, even though mistakes in the details of the article cannot be ruled out, as in anything that is man-made. However, because it transpired that the two gentlemen had not read the material in question, we agreed that we would meet again. Their conduct was totally irreproachable." At his news conference yesterday, Minister Sacher declared that he had neither read the MLADY SVET article nor had he discussed it with his deputy.

### Calfa Praises Government Efforts

*LD2705200690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Despite its being a weekend, it can be said that preelection fever is on the increase, not only because of the hot and sunny day we have been enjoying today, but also because the date of the free elections is approaching rapidly. After all, less than two weeks remain before the elections take place. This is why individual political parties and movements, which are courting the electorate, held election meetings in individual places throughout the country today. Elections also mean the end of the federal government's mandate. This was the reason why Libuse Snekova went to see Premier Marian Calfa.

[Begin recording] [Snekova, in Czech] How satisfied have you been with your government, and would you wish to have a similar team, a similar government again if you remained premier?

[Calfa, in Slovak] When I look back on these months of government activity, I would like to praise this government as a whole. It has performed exceptionally well. I cannot accuse any member of that government of inactivity or of lacking interest in work. On the contrary, every member performed to the limit of his abilities. I believe that during the work of the government a kind of a basis has been created and people have successfully undergone a test to be able to also work in a new government. I would be very glad if they had the opportunity to apply what they have learned in the present government to the work of the government appointed after the new free elections.

[Snekova, in Czech] What would you wish our voters in the coming elections? It will not be easy because the majority of the nation will be voting in free elections for the first time.

[Calfa, in Slovak] First, I would wish a great deal that all those who are entitled to vote do vote. It is essential to make use of this opportunity, to respect and grasp it. Second, I would wish that voters give their votes without any ulterior motives to people who in their view are the best, people who they believe will represent them best, people with whom they can identify. If this all happens, I have no doubt that our people will choose the best representatives they desire. [end recording]

### Finance Minister Sees Need for Stopgap Loan

*LD2605105890 Prague CTK in English 1809 GMT 24 May 90*

[Text] Washington May 24 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia needs a macroeconomic stabilization fund which would make it possible for it to take several complex steps on the road of economic reform, e.g. liberalization of prices, changes of exchange rates, etc., Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told C T K here today.

For this, the country needs a stand-by loan which would not be designed for any concrete project, said the minister who took part in Washington in an international conference called "Financial Needs of Eastern Europe—Task of the West" which opened yesterday.

The loan should be worth several thousands of millions of dollars. If Czechoslovakia is ready for bigger sacrifices in the realization of the economic reform, the loan may be lower, he added.

Minister Klaus said that a mission of the International Monetary Fund and another one of the World Bank are now working at Czechoslovakia's ministries. A number of concrete projects are being worked out for the moment when Czechoslovakia is admitted in the organizations.

Czechoslovakia should also be included in the European Communities' assistance project "Phare" which was originally designed for Poland and Hungary only, Vaclav Klaus said and recalled that Czechoslovakia is one of the founding and active members of the new European Bank.

### Labor Minister Petr Miller on Social Reforms

*AU2905132490*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 May on pages 1 and 5 publishes a 1,500-word interview with Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, by Lenka Tomesova, RUDE PRAVO correspondent, entitled "On Retirement Income, Family, Unemployment ... and the CPCZ." The place and date of the interview are not given. Minister Miller speaks about the transition from a passive to an active social policy. "In the framework of the all- society social policy, every citizen will know who receives how much in return for what and when." At the same time, the government will provide equal opportunities and social security for everybody to take care of his own future freely and responsibly, he asserts.

In reply to a question concerning the fears of possible unemployment, the minister says that the government has no experience in dealing with this issue, because it has not been a problem in Czechoslovakia since World War II. He acknowledges, however, the low productivity of labor in this country "which is less than half of that in advanced countries" and calls for a rapid formation of the labor market, which would bring greater effectiveness. Having studied the methods applied in dealing with this problem abroad, the government developed its own system, he says. "All this is encompassed in the principles of the law on employment and in the document entitled 'The Labor Market Concept in Czechoslovakia.' The draft law has been approved by the government, but it will only be submitted to the new Federal Assembly." Questioned as to who will provide the funds to pay the unemployed, Miller says that unemployment benefits are already paid by National Committees (6,000 unemployed are supported at present). "The cost of vocational training and retraining will be covered by the employers and by the Labor Exchanges." The latter will be established after 1 August with Manpower Service Centers as their component, he says. Further, Minister Miller answers a question on the elimination of company self-management. As this form of management is eliminated, the trade unions will become the sole representation of the workers, he says.

In response to questions about social benefits, Miller declares that the ministry addresses only the most burning issues in social benefits, while proposals of additional measures will be submitted to the new government. Among the problems dealt with is that of pensions. Miller promises that "the retirement income awarded before 30 September 1988 will be increased as of 1 October, and there will be a minimum pension of 1,200 korunas for an individual or 2,000 korunas for a couple if the pension is the only source of income." He also speaks about maternity-leave benefits. According to Miller, "all women will have the opportunity to stay at home with their children up to the age of three. A maternity benefit payments will be introduced as social income of women, the amount of which should reflect the average wage of young women as well as providing an appropriate share of the subsistence minimum." Moreover, either parent will be able to stay at home and care for the children.

At the conclusion of the interview, the minister speaks on politics. He says that he himself does not have time to follow the programs of the different parties. His concern is, he says, the ability of the ministry's employees, not their party affiliation. As he puts it: "I only demand that they begin their political work beyond the gates of their place of work." And the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has good people to help its transformation, he says, naming the ministers Barcak (foreign trade) and Podlena (transport and communication) as examples of such people.

### Presidency Spokesman on Current Political Issues

*LD2805164990 Prague CTK in English 1256 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel does not seek re-election after the June parliamentary elections, but rather others want him to

run as a presidential candidate, his press secretary Michael Zantovsky said at a meeting with journalists here today.

(The Civic Forum and Public Against Violence political movements have already nominated Vaclav Havel presidential candidate for a new term.)

Michael Zantovsky was reacting to a question from CTK whether Vaclav Havel is not afraid that if he is re-elected he will be criticized by some Czechoslovak citizens that he does not fulfil his promises just as some of his predecessors. The journalist was referring to Havel's statement on Czechoslovak television before his first election on December 29, 1989, that he will hold it only until free parliamentary elections.

Michael Zantovsky rejected the "game of words" and added that the December appearance can be interpreted in two ways.

In another part of the briefing, Zantovsky pointed to important milestones on Czechoslovakia's road back to Europe and in its effort at contributing to changes in Europe: the president's speech in the European Parliament in Strasbourg on May 10, a lecture by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier at Harvard University on May 16, and Czechoslovakia's joining the Pentagonal Initiative Group. Czechoslovakia's active attitudes could also find expression at a close meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

The president's press secretary acquainted journalists with new facts about funding the Prague-based International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) from Czechoslovak Communist Party resources. He noted that in 1972 the party's secretariat approved a resolution enjoining the then leading party official Rudolf Rohlicek to increase IOJ subsidies for 1972 by 2.5 million crowns ($147,000), and other party officials Vasil Bilak and Oldrich Svestka to discuss IOJ yearly budgets with the IOJ secretary general.

## Czech Prosecutor on CPCZ Assets

*AU2905154390*

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 22 May on page 2 publishes an 800-word interview with Pavel Rychetsky, LLD., prosecutor general of the Czech Republic, by Jaroslav Smid, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY correspondent, entitled "A Shock for the Public." The place and date of the interview are not given. The interview concerns the investigation into the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) assets and into the Slusovice agricultural cooperative affair.

The prosecutor promised to name the former VIPs involved in property crimes in connection with the CPCZ's assets by May 12. Yet, he would not name them even now; not, before they are officially charged. He elaborates, however, on the nature of the crime: "First of all: the Communist Party skimmed from the federal government budget the sum of 5.62 billion korunas during the period from December 1971 to 1989. The method used to achieve this can probably be termed a fraud." He clarifies his statement of 19 May on the start of proceedings in this matter by saying that the party cannot be prosecuted as an organization but that individuals responsible for the irregularities will have to be indicted. According to Rychetsky, criminal proceedings have also been launched against unnamed employees of the Czech Government Office in connection with the furnishing of homes of government officials.

Asked about investigations of the Slusovice case, Rychetsky says that during an in-depth audit of the People's Control Committee of the Czech Republic in Slusovice, the administration building was broken into and various documents were stolen. Suspicions of numerous business crimes were confirmed and, although these crimes are covered by the president's amnesty of 1 January, the investigation is not closed.

In addition, the prosecutor discusses the increase in criminality in the Czech Republic. He mentions that in the first four months of the year, 50 murders were committed in the Czech Republic, that the number of muggings increased from 265 in the first four months of 1989 to 786, and the number of burglaries from 1,325 to 3,415. The clear-up rate of crimes declined from 45.9 percent in January-April 1989 to 23.4 percent in the same period this year. The causes are, according to him, three: 1. decline in the authority and in the self-confidence of policemen; 2. general decline in the citizens' respect for the law; 3. many citizens released after the January amnesty abused the president's kindness. The answer to this problem lies in the public's cooperation with the police.

## Slovak National Council Passes More Bills

*AU2905091590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 May 90 pp 1, 2*

[Antonie Vymazalova and Frantisek Melis report: "Parliament Has Proved Itself in the Test of Time; The Last Meeting of the Slovak National Council During This Term of Office"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the first issue on the agenda was the Slovak National Council bill on measures to be adopted on the structure of the ministries and of other central bodies of the administration in the Slovak Republic. It was presented by Ladislav Kosta, Slovak minister of justice. [passage omitted]

The law was passed, and thereby the present Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of the Slovak Republic will be converted into the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Health of the Slovak Republic.

**Legislative Sprint**

Minister Ladislav Kosta also presented the Slovak National Council bill on the jurisdictioln of the Slovak social security bodies and on changes to some other regulations. [passage omitted]

The Slovak National Council passed the bill. This law establishes the Slovak Social Security Administration. It is formed by a merger of the Bureau for Retirement Security, the Slovak Administration and Regional Administrations of Health Insurance, and the relevant staff of the Regional National Committees and of the National Committees of the capital and of Bratislava. Concurrently, District Social Security Administrations are established. [passage omitted]

Ladislav Leco presented a joint information service administration for the Slovak National Council Committees. The Slovak National Council adopted the proposal.

Deputy Augustin Marian introduced the deputies' proposal to amend law 167/1973 on the Slovak Heritage Foundation. The deputies adopted the amendment. The partial amendment again provides for the establishment of local branches of the Slovak Heritage Foundation. [passage omitted]

The Slovak National Council, acting on the proposal of its legislative committee, recalled nine judges of the courts of the Slovak Republic from their office. [passage omitted]

## Slovak Premier Discusses Troop Withdrawal Issues

*LD2805121190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 28 May 90*

[Correspondent Lubos Krno report from Kovacova]

[Text] I am reporting from Kovacova, where a special meeting of the Council of the Zvolen District National Committee has been held, attended by Slovak Premier Milan Cic, Slovak Health Minister Stanislav Novak, and other officials. The sole item on the agenda was the situation concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Sliac and Zvolen. In this context, a representative of the towns of Banska Bystrica, Zvolen, Sliac, and Kovacova presented an open letter to the Slovak prime minister expressing fears that the airport at Sliac might become a Czecoslovak military one following the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The letter demands that the airport be turned into a civilian one, mainly because it is situated in the vicinity of the spa at Sliac.

In reply, Cic said that he has already discussed the issue with the minister of national defense, and the situation, as he put it, is developing favorably.

The meeting was also addressed by Major General Svetozar Nadovic, chief of the federal Ministry of National Defense's directorate supervising the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, who gave assurances that in Zvolen all facilities vacated by the Soviet troops will be turned over to the town and that the Czechoslovak Army does not expect to use the airport at Sliac for training purposes. He added that the Soviet troop withdrawal continues in accordance with the agreed timetable, and that by six o'clock yesterday, 24,669 soldiers and officers and more than 11,000 civilian employees, which is more than one third, had left Czechoslovak territory.

## Slovakia Public Againt Violence Rally Reported

*LD2705165690 Prague CTK in English 1449 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 27 (CTK)—"Breakfast with Public Against Violence" was the name of yesterday's pre-election event organized by the Public Against Violence Coordinating centre in the town of Kosice, Eastern Slovakia.

The "breakfast" was attended by Petr Uhl, director general of the Czechoslovak News Agency CTK and Civic Forum candidate for the Federal Assembly, Ivan Gabal, member of the council of the Civic Forum coordinating centre in Prague and Slavomir Stracar, federal minister of metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering from the Public Against Violence.

Petr Uhl stressed in his speech that the Civic Forum coordinating centre delegation has arrived in Kosice to demonstrate the Slovak- Czech unity in the framework of the newly built Democratic Federation, unity of the Public Against Violence and the Civic Forum, which constitute one bloc in the forthcoming elections, and at last the moral unity of society based on Christian traditions and principles. The Civic Forum is interested in cooperation with all democratic parties in a future coalition government with the exception of the Communist Party, the CTK director general underlined.

## People's Militia Weapons Surrendered to Army

*AU2905131490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 May 90 p 5*

[CTK report: "Surrendered Weapons Listed in the Army's Records"]

[Text] Prague—Minister of National Defense Miroslav Vacek on Tuesday [22 May] briefed the State Defense Council on the transfer to the Czechoslovak Army of weapons, equipment, and materials belonging to the former People's Militia. On Wednesday the Ministry of National Defense published the precise number of the main types of vehicles and weapons surrendered. The People's Militia surrendered to the Army 71,043 automatic submachine guns, 6,890 machine guns and 20,067 pistols, 130 antiaircraft guns, 358 mortars, 149 recoilless guns, and 2,031 hand grenades. As far as vehicles are concerned, the People's Militia surrendered a total of

2,113 vehicles—687 all-terrain automobiles, 449 all-terrain trucks, 959 motorcycles, 82 vehicles with communications technology, and one OT 64 transporter [armored personnel carrier].

## Prague Prison Unrest; Arrest Inquiry Promised

*AU2905144690 Prague PRACE in Czech 28 May 90 p 2*

["(mik)"-signed report: "The Prison in a State of Agitation"]

[Text] Prague—The situation in Prague's Ruzyne Prison remains critical. A total of 11 prisoners were on the prison's roof yesterday at 2100. The prisoners pried open the cell doors and got onto the roof through the penthouse. The remaining prisoners are in their cells throwing anything they can find into the prison's courtyard and shouting at the police watching from below. Justice Minister Dr. Dagmar Buresova came to calm down the prisoners, but she was crudely insulted by the prisoners. We learned on the spot that the Ministry of the Interior Rapid Deployment Force was supposed to take action in order to resolve yesterday's situation. Based on an agreement with Minister Buresova, the units did not intervene. We also met the city prosecutor, who told us that the situation was beyond his jurisdiction and that only the justice minister had the authority to resolve it. He himself only promised those on the roof that he will reexamine the reasons for holding them in custody.

## GERMAN REUNIFICATION

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### DSU To Ask For Diestel's Dismissal

*LD2905145690 Hamburg DPA in German 1422 GMT 29 May 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The DSU [German Social Union] People's Chamber group is to ask Premier Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] to dismiss Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (DSU). DSU parliamentary group leader Hans-Joachim Walter announced today [29 May], on the sidelines of a crisis meeting of the DSU deputies, that he intended to speak with De Maiziere today. The atmosphere in the parliamentary group against Diestel, whom the DSU accuses of cooperation with former Stasi members, remained unchanged: "We have once again suggested that he should resign." Moreover, there was already a replacement candidate for the office of the interior minister. Diestel himself, however, once again rejected the idea. [passage omitted]

### Diestel Rejects Call

*AU3005144090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 May 90 p 3*

[ADN/ND report: "Diestel Rejects Resignation Call"]

[Text] East Berlin—Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel has rejected reproaches by the spokesman of the People's Chamber Group of the German Social Union [DSU], Juergen Schwarz. Schwarz accused him of not wanting to reappraise the past clearly enough, particularly concerning the state security system.

Diestel stated that some colleagues from the DSU People's Chamber Group "are waging a random war of revenge against the former GDR, against the former structures, against the former society, and thus also against their own history." He will fulfill the task of completely slashing the state security system, assigned to him by the parliament and the government. "However, I can and will not allow the pillorying of large parts of the population which might cause bloodshed."

The quarrel within the DSU about Diestel continued on Monday [28 May]. Nearly unanimous criticism was expressed at a meeting in Bonn by the Christian Social Union and the DSU People's Chamber group.

Interior Minister Diestel rejected the resignation calls of the People's Chamber Group.

The Executive of the People's Chamber Group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany has meanwhile requested Premier Lothar de Maiziere to remove Diestel from his position.

### Diestel Receives De Maiziere Support

*LD3005083190 Hamburg DPA in German 0709 GMT 30 May 90*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—At present no government reshuffle is expected in East Berlin. This was stressed today [30 May] by Premier Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union]. "I do not intend to change anything in my cabinet," he told journalists who were asking about calls for the resignation of Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (DSU) [German Social Union], before the cabinet meeting. State Secretary Guenther Krause confirmed: "We clearly stand behind Mr. Diestel." [passage omitted]

De Maiziere will have a talk next week with Diestel and DSU parliamentary group chief Hansjoachim Walther to clarify the matter. The DSU announced they will introduce to the premier competent candidates, who could be potential Diestel successors. [passage omitted]

### Former Stasi Officer on Links With USSR

*AU2505164090 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 25 May 90 p 6*

[Interview with unidentified former high-ranking officer of the State Security Ministry by Manfred Schell and Werner Kalinka; place and date not given: "How Krenz Lost. Wolf and Falin Pulled the Strings"]

[Text] [DIE WELT] How do you assess Markus Wolf [former head of the counterintelligence department of the State Security Ministry], particularly in connection with the task of incorporating parts of the Stasi state security system into the KGB (DIE WELT 6 April 1990: "Modrow Leaves Agents to Moscow")?

[Officer] This requires an extensive answer. There are many things that seem incoherent. However, I will tell you honestly what I think: First, he was one of the brightest persons that the GDR has ever had. This is a fact. The education he received at home, his training, and his intellectual potential made him a great man. It was not without reason that the West has often described him as one of the most successful intelligence chiefs in German history.

Second, because Wolf was so bright, he was one of the first persons to realize where the development was going. I had no doubt that Wolf always used the leeway of his position, hoping that he might be able to move the deaf and blind people (leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany) after all. Wolf threw in the towel, or let us say he provoked the old leadership exactly at the point when he realized that he no longer could continue his work, that he had to change his position.

[DIE WELT] He threw in the towel?

[Officer] The West used to believe that State Security Minister Mielke had fired him. I am completely certain that Mielke only fired Wolf after he had been provoked by him. Mielke forbade him to celebrate the wedding with his young Russian wife in grand style. However, this is exactly what Wolf did. They used a white carriage and celebrated lavishly. In his dispute with Mielke, Wolf behaved in a way that Mielke had no choice but to fire him. Wolf was suspended from office. It took Mielke another three months to get political consent for Wolf's dismissal. So much on the relationship between Wolf and Mielke.

When Wolf had been removed from the State Security Ministry, he did the wisest thing he could do—also from my viewpoint. With his book ("Troika," 1989), he created the platform that he needed. To answer your question in a concise manner: He was one of the staunchest friends of the Soviet Union, a convinced socialist and communist. He had imbibed this attitude from his earliest infancy as it were.

Thus, there is no doubt that Wolf was involved in many things, in a very complex manner. You must bear in mind that the work of his life is at stake, more so than in the case of many other persons. Wolf did not have to hand over files, because many things were stored in his mind. In addition, there were a number of persons among the leadership of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration whose confidence he enjoyed. Grossmann (head of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration) did not get his position against Wolf's will, but this was carefully prepared by Wolf.

[DIE WELT] What were relations with the Soviet leadership like during the critical weeks last year?

[Officer] There was one decisive event; namely, the secret visit by Falin in November last year. He landed in East Berlin on board a military aircraft. It was a Friday, probably 17 November. Nobody knew why Wolf first went to the Soviet Embassy, why Krenz went there and came back mortally grieved, why Modrow went there and came back and went there again after some time. Nobody knew what happened inside the embassy until a few insiders—mainly through their connections with the KGB—learned that Falin was there, that he was sounding out the situation for Gorbachev. Krenz was clearly told that he was not going to make it and Modrow was told that he was to step in. The key figure was Wolf.

[DIE WELT] After the removal of the old Politburo, the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] apparently established itself again...

[Officer] As of November, after the fall of the old leadership, the situation stabilized again. When the West sounded the alarm in January, we were facing a really dangerous situation. The old forces were again trying to control the situation in the GDR. This also applies to the security apparatus. Corresponding structures were established, and Modrow had set the course, particularly in the sphere of intelligence. Modrow addressed a letter to the Council of Ministers in which he approved the activities of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration, and of the counterespionage and antiterrorism service.

[DIE WELT] What was the relationship between Wolf and Modrow like?

[Officer] These two men are linked by a long-standing friendship. It dates back to the time before the Central Council. Wolf used to warn Modrow in connection with investigations against Modrow by the State Security Ministry while Modrow was SED bezirk leader in Dresden. He was facing numerous high treason charges which were treated by Stasi chief Boehme. These charges did not result from activities on behalf of the FRG, but because Modrow tried to change things in the GDR in accordance with the Soviet example. One result of this meeting (during Falin's visit)—I am certain of this—was an emergency plan. It contained three points: First, can the unity of the SED be preserved? Second, will the SED split? This leads to point three: If worst comes to worst, a communist party will be founded. As far as I know, Wolf agreed at this point to be available in case of need. However, he decided to remain in the background until he was needed.

It is interesting that Modrow, when he was informed by Krenz that he would become a member of the Politburo, told Krenz: Only on condition that Wolf join the Politburo as well. Krenz agreed. However, Wolf wanted to know what he was supposed to do in the Politburo. He rejected the idea. Also during this phase, Wolf was the one who knew that it was better to act from the background instead of wearing himself out on the front. A great number of allegations leveled against him today are not true. I, on my part, have no doubt about his loyalty toward the Soviets. He, on his part, may certainly proceed from the assumption that a residence in the Soviet Union would be a solution for him.

[DIE WELT] Wolf, KGB, State Security Ministry—how were they linked in your view? What has been removed, where are the copies, and how do you assess this man and his role? There is certainly a connection with what you just mentioned. Things must not be covered up.

[Officer] Let me get to the core of your question: What has been taken over by the KGB from the former work of the State Security Ministry? Let me first talk about the KGB. There has been smooth and close cooperation between the two services from the beginning—in various phases that differed in their quality. There is no doubt about that. The word adviser speaks for itself. We had ceased to be junior partners a long time ago, we cooperated on the basis of equal rights. I would like to stress this, because the aspect of equal rights is important in connection with your question. The KGB did not force cooperation on us.

Cooperation with the KGB was based on the true convictions of our teachers. Until the very last minute, we considered it an honor to learn something from the Soviet Union. Every head of a unit, let alone my aides, were happy to belong to the illustrious circle of persons who maintained direct working contacts with KGB units. Thus, we acted on the basis of our convictions, also concerning the exchange of information. Let me first make a general statement: I think that there is nothing—not even after I have carefully thought about it—that we did not give to the KGB. Despite the fact that we did not reveal sources in various instances during the past few years, particularly since 1985, when tensions started to emerge at the political level, we still continued to exchange information during these years.

It is noticeable that the success rate—no matter what one understands by this—declined during the past five to six years. The ministry neglected its actual tasks. Until 1985, 30 agents from Western services were arrested, and in the past two years only one each, and not very important ones at that. This is a negligible amount. This shows a development that has taken place in all socialist states.

[DIE WELT] Was the State Security Ministrty active in the Soviet Union as well?

[Officer] An operational unit of the State Security Ministry had existed in Moscow since 1958—upon the request of the Soviets. You know that there was a certain mania: Every foreigner was viewed as an enemy, and the German problems naturally obstructed the process of bilateral integration. The Soviets told us at the time that we were completely responsible for the people we were going to send them. They practically made it possible for the GDR State Security Ministry to work in Moscow and to open a branch in Leningrad later. Until the very end, the GDR state security system—the counterintelligence service—was responsible for all GDR citizens who lived temporarily or permanently in the Soviet Union. This means that all foreign students from the GDR—this is an interesting aspect—were not observed by KGB but by unofficial staff that worked via this operational group which comprised between 30 and 40 persons.

This operational unit worked until November. It was also responsible for the security of the embassy. The head of the unit was always the most important man for the ambassador. The head of the unit had access to the entire KGB leadership. I once attended a farewell ceremony for a unit head at the embassy in Moscow. This was a ceremony that can be compared with a reception by the FRG president. To put it sarcastically, the entire creme de la creme was present. The unit leaders are on all pictures that were taken during Honecker's visit to the Soviet Union. Honecker's visits were prepared by this all-powerful operational unit of the State Security Ministry.

There was also another aspect to the cooperation. We placed everything at the KGB's disposal that it needed. What did this include? The KGB received complete series of blank identity cards, passports, and GDR stamps. As long as nothing changes, the KGB can still create any file it wants to create. We placed a certain amount of conspiratorial apartments at the KGB's disposal on a permanent basis. The KGB received single-room apartments, four-room apartments, and houses. The KGB was given every kind of intelligence-related assistance. We installed bugs for the KGB in apartments, we prepared hotel rooms for visitors from the FRG, we carried out observations on behalf of the KGB. We gave them everything.

[DIE WELT] What was the State Security Ministry in your view?

[Officer] The State Security Ministry did not exist. It was a conglomerate. As a matter of fact, there were legitimate elements, such as the counterespionage department, the antiterrorism department, and it ensured the protection of the national economy. The dangerous thing about the State Security Ministry was that under the leadership of Main Administration 20, the major part of the ministry was used for internal suppression, in the spirit of party policy. The dramatic thing was that intelligence-related instruments and methods that are usually applied in units, whose task is to fight the "enemy,"—that is, secret services and terrorist organizations—were internally used to suppress GDR citizens without any legal restrictions.

[DIE WELT] What standing had Guillaume and others in the Soviet Union?

[Officer] At the beginning, spies and agents had to be provided with everything they needed, including jobs, when they came back or where withdrawn. Nobody can complain in this connection. There were no ceremonies without the honorary presidiums including former agents. Their moral value was increased by asking them to give speeches at various units. It was possible for every unit to invite any spy. This naturally served the moral uplifting of the young comrades. Somebody who has looked the class enemy in the eye—this is quite something. That is clear.

[DIE WELT] What about the "Grand Hotel?"

[Officer] There were two officers of the State Security Ministry who worked under cover there. It was no problem for us to get the rooms we wanted, or to place the visitors in the rooms were we wanted them to stay. This also included choosing a woman that we believed would be to the visitor's taste. However, I can assure everybody that this category of women acted according to the motto: The good man thinks of himself first. Not everything that has been claimed in this connection is true. The women had their own motives for their work. They only had as much contact as was necessary for them to be allowed to stay at the hotel and not to be turned out.

### Interior Ministry on Role of Antiterror Unit

*LD2505104690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1931 GMT 23 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The former antiterror unit of the State Security Ministry, and thus members of the present antiterror unit of the Interior Ministry, were not involved in clashes in front of the "House of Teachers" in Berlin on 7-8 October last year. This emerged from a statement by the Interior Ministry conveyed to ADN today [23 May]. It states that at the time the antiterror unit was in reserve and was not deployed. The Berlin investigating committee summoned some of the formers members in January and questioned them and made them confront citizens. The latter did not recognize them as being the same as those State Security Ministry members who were deployed in front of the "House of Teachers," the statement says.

On their appointment, all former State Security Ministry members taken on by the Interior Ministry stated in writing that they had not taken any action against the opposition. The careful selection and vetting of present staff, who have lengthy special training, took place in line with the roundtable's criteria. The appointments took place with the agreement and approval of government representative Brinksmeier and representatives of the People's Police trade union.

The Interior Ministry states that of 300 former employees of the antiterror unit of the State Security Ministry it has appointed 109. Together with 40 People's Policemen, they are now part of a unit combating violent crime, which has existed since 1973. The total strength of 193 employees of this unit is to be reached in August 1990, after which only members of the People's Police will be appointed.

Interior Minister Diestel has introduced further investigations to ensure that no new State Security Ministry structures can develop. Intensive training is to take place so that this unit loyally and unconditionally serves the protection of the new democratic order. The antiterror group will only be deployed in airline hijackings and other serious crimes and on the minister's personal instruction.

### SPD Signs Coalition Pact With CDU/DA

*LD3005082990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0735 GMT 30 May 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The coalition agreement between the Social Democratic Party [SPD] and the Christian Democratic Union/Democratic Awakening [CDU/DA] was sealed this morning [30 May] three-quarters of an hour before the second meeting of the Berlin City Assembly. The regional chairpersons of the parties, Anne-Kathrin Pauck (SPD) and Dr. Eberhard Engler (CDU) signed the document. The 14 candidates for the municipal team are therefore confirmed.

The Social Democrats are to take over eight departments and will provide the mayor. Tino Schwierzina is expected to fill this post. [passage omitted]

The CDU is entitled to put forward six city councillors. [passage omitted]

### New Cottbus Mayor Waldemar Kleinschmidt Elected

*LD2605191990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1645 GMT 26 May90*

[Excerpt] Cottbus (ADN)—The city deputies' assembly of the bezirk city of Cottbus constituted itself on Saturday [26 May]. Waldemar Kleinschmidt was elected as the new mayor by a majority of 69 votes. The Christian Democratic Union politician was acting leader of the city council for months. [passage omitted]

### Schwierzina Elected New Mayor of Berlin

*LD3005110390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0939 GMT 30 May 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Tino Schwierzina (SPD) [Social Democratic Party] was elected today [30 May] as the new mayor of Berlin. In a secret ballot he received 74 votes, while 42 of the 134 deputies present voted against him. There were 18 abstentions. The opposition candidate suprisingly proposed by the PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism], Dr. Peter Zotl, received 43 votes. Sixty parliamentarians voted against him, and 31 abstained. [passage omitted]

### De Maiziere Statement on U.S.-Soviet Summit

*LD2905170190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [28 May], Premier Lothar de Maiziere issued the following statement on the forthcoming summit between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush:

The summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush is a further sign of hope for peace and disarmament. Mikhail Gorbachev has a heavy burden to carry in the USSR. He needs support and solidarity, so that glasnost and perestroyka are further successfully implemented, and this process of the opening and renewal of the USSR is made irreversible. The GDR will continue consistently to follow its task of being a bridge between East and West, especially in the fields of European and disarmament policy.

After the creation of the economic, currency and social union between the GDR and the FRG, we want to turn our attention to the external aspects of the process of German unification. This means settling the external aspects of our future existence and anchoring the whole German state in the community of European peoples.

During this process, there should be no fundamental dissent with any of the partners involved in East and West.

The fundamental political changes in the Warsaw Pact states open up the historically unprecedented opportunity for making a transition on our continent from the "mere" preservation of peace between antagonistic parties to the joint shaping of peace among free democracies.

In the settlement of the external aspects of German unification, i.e., also with regard to the agenda points of the two-plus-four negotiations concerning this, the GDR is guided by the following considerations:

German unification should promote the community of Europeans and the deepening of the CSCE process. Everyone in Europe must know that German unity will bring not less but more pan-European coherence and raise security for everyone.

German unification should end the division of Europe. Hence, in the wake of the two-plus-four negotiations, it is absolutely necessary to have regard for the security interests of our East European neighbors, primarily the USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, to the same extent that this should be the case with the other Europe partners of the future Germany.

German unification should further promote the process of surmounting bloc confrontation, should shape the process of German unification while using the existing security-policy links that Germans have with East and West as a hinge of such a development.

German unification should lend the disarmament process in Germany and Europe a powerful impetus. In our view, and end ought to be put to the intolerable situation that the territory of the two German states is the most heavily armed region in the world. This cannot be justified on a security-policy basis. Rather what is necesary is a gradual collective reduction in warlike military potential and structures to a level where there is mutual incapacity for attack.

An independent, institutionalized security policy dimension of the CSCE should create a future perspective for Germany within a European security order. It is my government's aim to achieve a just and lasting peace in Europe. To this end we must strive for an overall European security and peace union which will augment the existing security structures in Europe. All CSCE states should be involved in such an oprganization. The states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO (as well as the neutral and nonaligned countries) will work together here.

The future Germany would be an integral component of such an organization, which, in contrast to the present blocks, would not be the opponent of any one CSCE state, but rather a security policy alliance of all of these states. The CSFR submitted an initial framework proposal in a memorandum to all CSCE states in mid-April.

In my view, it is time to undertake initial, practical steps in this direction, using existing international bodies and procedures. Our proposal for entering pan-European structures takes the form that the existing bodies of the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO should meet jointly once or twice a year (with the participation of their colleagues from the neutral and nonaligned states), thereby institutionalizing pan-European security policy consultations. From this, CSCE councils at foreign minister and defense minister level could emerge. A decision in principle could be taken by the CSCE summit meeting this autumn at the latest, and a corresponding mandate agreed upon. My government will take the initiative in this direction towards the other CSCE states.

Further concrete considerations on our part are as follows:

—the process of European disarmament will remain one of the focal areas of security policy in the CSCE framework for the foreseeable future. Experiences to date, foreseeable outcomes of negotiations and future tasks and challenges point to the creation of a pan-European center for security policy cooperation, the seat of which could be Berlin as a possible pivot in the CSCE sphere. Its main task would be the prevention, or where necessary the management, of crises. The GDR Government is prepared to hold a preparatory conference of all CSCE states in Berlin for the formation of such a body. This too would, in our view, be something for the agenda of the planned CSCE summit meeting.

—there must be an examination of the extent to which institutions such as the Council of Europe and its parliamentary representation could gradually be given increased authority to become pan-European bodies. In any case it seems to us essential that a community of democratic states, such as Europe is now becoming, should set up a parliamentary assembly of the CSCE states as soon as possible.

—there will be political, economic, ecological, ethnic and other oppositions and conflicts between states in the future Europe also. Therefore conflict arbitration procedures and institutions should be developed and gradually accorded obligatory authority to take decisions. Any other path is inconceivable, if military means of solving conflicts are to be ruled out once and for all and if the pan-European integration is to be taken seriously as a necessary goal of the CSCE process. Considerations on this could be formulated for example at the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

We can only envisage the unified Germany in an alliance which does not consider other European states as potential military opponents. We see fundamental need for change in both block systems. Therefore, we evaluate the announcements being made now by NATO with respect

to their intention to change the military strategy of this alliance in accordance with the new realities on our continent, as basically positive, and we hope that these changes will at the same time pave the way for further security policy progress throughout Europe.

We proceed on the basis that the character of the existing alliance systems will increasingly be shaped in a political direction. It is our aim to activate the Warsaw Pact organization in this sense.

The GDR will continue the path it has embarked upon—of the strict defensiveness of its own Armed Forces—and will continue to move forward in the disarmament process. In the development of all-European security structures the National People's Army is to assume a bridging function between the two alliance systems and develop and strengthen partnership relations for reciprocal information, consultation and cooperation between the two sides.

In the interests of a better future for our continent, and the world as a whole, the Europeans and all states and peoples involved in the CSCE process have a duty to utilize the opportunities provided today by the possibilities in Europe and German unification. The historical situation demands that we seek the points of consensus in the interests and approaches of all involved parties, and the paths to practical compromises, and that we do not block our own political creativity and capacity for action with regard to continuing problems and differences.

## Foreign Minister Meckel Favors Rapid Unification

*AU2705135590 Hamburg BILD in German 26 May 90 p 4*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by Ulrich Rosenbaum; place and date not given: "Meckel: Unity Must Come About Fast and It Must Be Good"]

[Text] [Rosenbaum] Are you annoyed about the threat by the West SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] to reject the State Treaty?

[Meckel] I am not sure whether it would be wise for the West SPD to reject the treaty. However, our friends must decide this. We support the State Treaty. However, we would not object to the treaty being improved in the way the West SPD suggested. As far as the content of their proposal is concerned, we share their view.

[Rosenbaum] You are against early all-German elections. Have you come to like governing so much now that you want to continue for a while?

[Meckel] This is silly. None of us assumed our offices because it is a pleasure for us to do certain things. We assumed responsibility for our country, and we want to continue as long as this is in the interest of our citizens. This means that unity must not only come about quickly, but that it must also be good.

[Rosenbaum] However, is the mere risk that everything might change in the Soviet Union not a reason for acting quickly?

[Meckel] It is the other way round. If the interests of the Soviet Union are not taken into consideration, instability will be created.

[Rosenbaum] Moscow wants a real peace treaty....

[Meckel] I am very skeptical about that. In such a case, we would have to negotiate with all former opponents in the war—over 50 altogether. Reparations would have to be paid as well. However, the "two-plus-four talks" should lead to concluding international regulations which will finally put an end to the consequences of the war.

## Government Considers Law on Adopting FRG Law

*LD3005134990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1244 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government has today [30 May] considered its legislative plan containing all the laws and regulations necessary for the GDR to take over FRG law and for adaptation to this law. The core was a so-called umbrella law which regulates, under Appendix II of the State Treaty between the GDR and the FRG, how FRG legislation is to come into force. Government spokesman Matthias Gehler announced at the weekly news conference following the cabinet session that this law will be passed on to the People's Chamber for debate.

Gehler reported at the outset that the government considered the difficult situation in the retail trade, which is characterized by an absence of certain goods. In this context, he spoke of full cold stores but empty butchers' shops. Overall it must be said that the situation prior to the coming into force of the economic, monetary and social union is "unpredictable." After all, the forthcoming union involves a unique process. The government wants to set up monitoring groups and intervene by using directives to improve the situation. "After all, we also want to live from now until 2 July," he said.

The government spokesman also announced that starting 2 July all barriers at borders and crossing points are to be removed. For instance, in Berlin all road links must be cleared and reopened. The help of Western firms is desired in this. As a "reward" they will receive dismantled segments of the Wall.

## Banks To Issue Currency Conversion Applications

*LD2505164790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0819 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All financial institutions will issue applications for currency conversion to citizens beginning the second week of June. This was announced by the GDR State Bank today [25 May] when asked by ADN.

### Visa Requirement Lifted for Travel to UK

*LD2505161790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1559 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An agreement was concluded today [25 May] in Berlin between the GDR and Great Britain on the lifting of visa obligations for those possessing tourist, service, and diplomatic passports. It will come into force 8 June 1990. According to a press statement issued by the Foreign Ministry, GDR citizens will at this time be able to travel for business, tourist, or personal reasons to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man without a visa.

The length of the stay will be in accordance with the UK's legal regulations and can be for a period of up to six months.

### Visa-Free Travel to Switzerland Starting 1 Jun

*LD2805174690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1641 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Citizens of Switzerland and Liechtenstein may enter the GDR without a visa starting 1 June. This results from a GDR statement sent to the Swiss Embassy, according to information received from the Foreign Ministry today [28 May].

In accordance with a proposal submitted by the GDR at the beginning of February, the Swiss Bundesrat resolved on 23 May to abolish compulsory visas for GDR citizens traveling to Switzerland and to the principality of Liechtenstein. Thus, starting 1 June 1990, persons in possession of tourist, business, and diplomatic passports may travel between the countries without visas, and may stay for a period of up to three months.

### Plan To Reduce Contamination of Baltic Sea

*AU2305165990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 19 May 90 p 1*

[NZ/ADN report: "Ambitious Environmental Project"]

[Excerpt] Rostock—By the year 1995, the GDR wants to achieve a 50-percent reduction in the influx of pollutants and nutrients into the Baltic Sea. This was stated by State Secretary Winfried Pickart at the First National Baltic Sea conference of the GDR in Rostock on 18 May. [passage omitted]

### Antall on Talks With Kohl, De Maiziere

*LD2705091590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 27 May 90*

[Report on interview with Premier Jozsef Antall by reporter Ivan Bedoe; place and date not given]

[Text] I do not think it surprised anybody that our premier's first foreign visit, not long after the inauguration of the government, was on German soil. Jozsef Antall has already on several occasions met Chancellor Kohl, who has unequivocally supported the Hungarian politician. Well, Jozsef Antall has now talked about his discussions to our Berlin reporter Ivan Bedoe:

[Begin recording] [Antall] With Chancellor Kohl we held a long face-to-face discussion, which included the subject of interparty cooperation. On nonparty issues he assured me of his support first and foremost in connection with the Common Market. Naturally, this does not mean that tomorrow we can be members with equal rights, but rather that he will support and promote bilateral association within the shortest possible time. Furthermore, we agreed to compile a program of the issues in which we count first and foremost on the FRG. I will travel to Bonn officially on 21 June. By then we will have compiled the program.

I believe that the FRG, regardless of the support given to the GDR, wishes to continue to treat Hungary in a complimentary manner. The direction in which I wish to take the discussions is that they should offer help not only in the form of technological assistance, investments, and undertakings—but as a matter of fact, to put it simply, in education, and also in the modernization of Hungarian public administration. I think that we will receive serious support.

And now I have had a quite lengthy discussion with the GDR premier, Mr. de Maiziere. Particularly important for us here, on the one hand, is the clarification of relations between the GDR and Hungary, the examination of the problems deriving from the currency reform, and the fact that Hungary and the GDR must continue to maintain economic relations. This new situation could definitely have disadvantages, as with this the GDR will belong to the group of hard-currency countries. But at the same time, this also offers us certain possibilities, as in this way, through the GDR, we will have yet another channel to the Common Market. So I believe that we have succeeded in taking serious steps, in both German states, in the direction of further strengthening relations.

[Bedoe] Evidently this will require temporary measures, as the introduction of the West German mark in the GDR will cause many kinds of changes in Hungarian-GDR, or, if you like, in Hungarian-German relations as well. How can we approach this transition?

[Antall] That is precisely the issue. Here we must begin... [changes thought] And we will send out a committee which will discuss it, and in the future we will also ascribe a serious role in this regard to the Hungarian diplomatic missions. We will also reexamine the issue of Hungarian diplomatic representation in both German states, as well as the question of where it is worth while opening consulates.

[Bedoe] Is it conceivable in this case that the Bonn Embassy will become a Bonn Consulate?

[Antall] A Bonn Consulate? I do not think so, but we will shortly make public our concepts.

[Bedoe] With Chancellor Kohl you discussed the Romanian situation. Hungarians and Germans, as the two largest nationalities living there, are perhaps most interested in the Romanian situation.

[Antall] We would be pleased if as large a number of Germans as possible were to stay in Romania. In any case, it would serve the interests of the Hungarian minority if the Germans would also strive to win national rights in Romania. However, not even after the discussion with Chancellor Kohl do I see a great chance that the German minority will stay there in large numbers. That is how I can put it. [end recording]

### Antall on Withdrawal From Warsaw Pact

*LD2905222690 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2010 GMT 29 May 90*

[Interview with Premier Jozsef Antall by reporter Hans-Juergen Wittenburg; place and date not given—recorded; Antall remarks in Hungarian with superimposed translation into German]

[Text] [Wittenburg] Mr. Premier, you went to Berlin on your first foreign trip. Can one draw conclusions from this about possible new priorities in Hungary's foreign policy?

[Antall] My first trip did indeed bring me to Berlin, but I was taking up an invitation from Chancellor Kohl to participate in the 90th German Catholic Days Conference. But in any case I had planned to go first either to Germany or to Austria as the FRG has always been by far the most important among the Western partners. I am also on friendly terms with Chancellor Kohl, and we regard the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union [CDU/CSU] as our sister- party.

On the one hand, the GDR, after the Soviet Union, has a special importance for Hungary among East Bloc states, even if we were politically far apart from one another in the past few years. After all, the orthodox wing was dominant in the GDR, whereas the former government and even the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] had long been pressing reforms in Hungary. However, economically, there have been close contacts, which can now receive fresh prospects. We have always supported German unity, without which we cannot envisage European unity. We see a future united Germany as a democratic state based on the rule of law, which can only be useful to Europe.

[Wittenburg] A first step toward that unity is the creation of the currency and economic union. This currency and economic union may create a complicated situation in relations between the GDR and other East European states. You discussed this with Mr. de Maiziere. What solutions spring to mind?

[Antall] First, one must state that the currency union is in fact accompanied by certain difficulties. But it can also be accompanied by indisputable advantages. If the treaties which the GDR has concluded are kept, and we have assured Mr. de Maiziere and Chancellor Kohl of this, then this could provide Hungary with a new channel in the direction of the EC, irrespective of the fact that we ourselves are seeking a bilateral agreement between Hungary and the EC. Moreover, we regard the utilisation of the Soviet market as a further important factor where the GDR occupies a prominent position. Its knowledge and experiences—and that, incidentally, also applies to Hungary—together with the FRG's economic might, could help to secure that position. We could also quite easily envisage joint German-Hungarian projects (?in) the Soviet market.

But I should once again emphasize that Hungary regards relations with a future united Germany as being of paramount importance, without undervaluing cooperation with countries such as France, England, Italy, Japan, or the United States and their presence in Europe, which we will continue to regard as important. At any rate, we will soon strive to coordinate diplomatic steps between Hungary, the FRG, and the GDR.

[Wittenburg] Hungary intends to start negotiations as soon as possible on leaving the Warsaw Pact. As far as I know, you are not thinking of any unilateral solutions or unilateral departure, but you are seeking a solution in a new European security order. What specific ideas exist on this?

[Antall] The Hungarian parliament has decided to thoroughly investigate in the relevant committees the circumstances of a speedy withdrawal, as demanded by the opposition. But we maintain the following position on this: First, Hungary already publicly declared its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact in 1956. But the ensuing developments are well-known. Second, we regard the withdrawal of the Soviet troops as fundamental. There is no basis under international law for their presence. Third, it is, however, a fact that they have been stationed here for the past decades, and that Hungary belongs to the Warsaw Pact, which applies equally to the military and political sphere. Nevertheless, fourth, we believe that there is no longer any justification for the existence of the Warsaw Pact because the reasons leading to its creation, even in Soviet eyes, have ceased to apply. Fifth, we believe that it must therefore be replaced by a European security order. But Sixth, since numerous complex political, military, and military-technological issues must be cleared up in this respect, we do not regard unilateral steps as appropriate. We are thus in favor of bilateral negotiations with all involved parties, particularly of course with the USSR, without wishing, however, to enter into endless negotiations.

### Reportage on Geza Jeszenszky Visit to Austria

*WA2905150290*

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to Austria, including reports on his talks with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, please see the Austria section of the 29 May West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

### MTI Reports New Ministers' Biographies

*LD2505112190 Budapest MTI in English 1918 GMT 23 May 90*

["Government Members' Biographies"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Dr. Jozsef Antall, prime minister, was born in Budapest in 1932.

His father, the late Jozsef Antall, was Interior Ministry advisor and government commissioner for refugee affairs (1939-1944), and minister of reconstruction and acting minister of finance (1945-46), as well as a member of parliament.

He attended the Piarist grammar school, matriculating in 1950, and then studied humanities and later political and legal sciences.

He obtained a history teacher's certificate, as well as qualifications as an archivist, librarian and museologist.

He also holds a PHD in historical science.

From 1954, he worked as an archivist, librarian and secondary school teacher, and from 1964, was on the staff of Semmelweis Medical History Museum, Library and Archives, of which he later became director.

He was chairman of a revolutionary committee in 1956, and took part in reorganizing the Independent Smallholders Party and founding the Christian Youth Federation, while maintaining strong links with several ministers of the Imre Nagy government and carrying out various political functions.

As a result, he was questioned and held in custody by the police, suspended from his job, and banned from teaching and publishing.

Even in the subsequent period, he was under political surveillance.

His works were allowed to appear from 1963.

He was permitted to travel to the West in 1974 for the first time.

He has been editor-in-chief of the MEDICAL HISTORY JOURNAL since 1967, and was secretary-general of the Hungarian society of medical history from 1972. He is now its president.

Jozsef Antall is a member or chairman of several committees and sub-committees of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a member of the International Academy of Pharmaaatical History, and on the board of the International Society of Medical History.

As founder, and later president of the HDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], he has exercised strong influence over his party's policy.

He played an outstanding role in the opposition round table and the negotiations with the representatives of power.

Mr Antall is married with two sons.

Peter Akos Bod—minister of industry and trade

Born in Szigetvar in 1951.

Graduated as an economist in Budapest in 1975. Has worked as a researcher at the Institute of Economic Planning of the National Planning Office. Later became head of the Department of Economic Management.

His main fields of research included company planning, industrial policy, and economic policy. Author and co-author of several articles and books on these topics.

Titular assistant professor of the Department of Organization and Management at University of Economics.

Took a PHD in 1977 and a candidate's degree in economics in 1986.

During and after his university studies, scholarship-holder in Finland, the Soviet Union and Denmark.

Worked in Ghana as a UN expert and spent two semesters at Portland University, USA, as a visiting lecturer.

Joined the Hungarian Democratic Forum in 1989 and, as a member of the economics team, was one of the editors of the economic policy manifesto.

Elected MP via HDF's Veszprem county list.

Has state language certificates in English, Russian and French. Married with a child.

Istvan Balsai—minister of justice

Born in Miskolc in 1947.

Matriculated in 1965.

Due to his father's role in the 1956 revolution, had difficulties in continuing his studies.

Took a PHD in law in Budapest in 1972.

Lawyer since 1974, and head of the Disciplinary Committee of the lawyers' chamber since 1989.

Member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum since September 1988.

Worked as an HDF expert in electoral law during the 1990 parliamentary elections.

Became MP through HDF's national list.

Elected deputy president of the Constitutional, Legislative and Judicial Committee of Parliament.

Married with two children.

Dr. Lajos Fur—minister of defence

Born in Egyhazasradoc, Vas County, of peasant parents in 1930.

Graduated as teacher of history in 1954.

Arrested and briefly interned by Soviet troops because of his role played in the revolution.

Escaped to France on his release in 1957.

Returned to Hungary in three months' time and was out of work for one year. Then worked in a library, as a dock-worker and then primary school teacher.

Went to work at the Hungarian Museum of Agriculture in 1964 to do research in agrarian history, has been university lecturer since 1987 and assistant professor at the Department of Mediaeval and Modern History at Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, Budapest.

Took a candidate's degree in 1971, and became a doctor of history in 1983.

His special fields of research and interest includes Hungary's agrarian history and the landmarks in national history. Published numerous books, studies and papers on these subjects.

One of the founders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Married with two children and two grandchildren.

Ferenc Nagy—minister of agriculture

born at Kisharsany, [name indistinct) 1923 to a Calvinist family. His parents cultivated 42 hectares.

Graduated as an agriculturalist in 1967.

Elected chairman of Kisharsany cooperative farm in 1959. From 1963, agronomist, then chairman, of the same farm.

Retired in 1983.

Member of a number of professional and representative organizations.

Presbyter and alternate member of the SYKK [expansion unknown] for 30 years.

member of the Independent Smallholders Party [ISP] since 1937. Got involved in the party's work again in 1989.

On April 29, 1990, elected ISP president.

Married with three children and seven grandchildren.

K. Sandor Keresztes—minister of environmental protection

Born in Kolozsvar (Cluj) in 1944.

Studied in Budapest and graduated as an architect in 1969.

Took a degree as an engineer specialized in urban construction and management in 1976.

Worked as a construction designer, then, in a local council, as a staff member of the construction authority, specialized in communal management, environmental protection and city planning, and directed locality and regional planning works.

Studied interrelationships between environmental protection and regional development.

Member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Married with three children.

Geza Jeszenszky—minister of foreign affairs

Born in Budapest in 1941.

Graduated as a teacher of history and English in Budapest in 1966, and as a librarian in 1973.

Worked as a secondary school teacher from 1966 to 1968, and then as a research [words indistinct] national Szechenyi library.

Teacher at Department of International Relations at University of Economics since 1976.

Won Fulbright Scholarship 1984 to the United States, and lectured at Santa (?Monica) University, California, until late 1986, and at UCLA, Los Angeles.

Appointed dean of the new Faculty of Social Sciences at University of Economics in 1989.

Took a PHD in 1979, and a candidate's degree in 1980. Author of numerous books, studies and other scientific publications.

Member of a number of Hungarian and foreign professional and scientific associations.

Speaks excellent english, and is familiar with German and several Slav languages.

One of the founders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Married with two children.

Dr. Balazs Horvath—minister of the interior

Born in Budapest in 1942.

Graduated in 1965 from the State and Law Faculty of Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, Budapest.

Worked as member of the Veszprem Chamber of Lawyers up to May 5, 1990.

Special field of research and interest is criminal law.

One of the authors of the bill on unified legal representation. Took part in working out the principle foundations for the establishment and operation of self government, more precisely, workers' councils.

Participated in the political coordinating talks and the preparation of the bill on association and the operation and economy of parties.

Member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Married with two daughters.

Ferenc Rabar—minister of finance

Born in Budapest on June 4, 1929.

Graduated from the Trade College and subsequently worked for commercial and transport companies until 1955.

From 1955 to 1960, on the staff of the the Ministry of Transport and Postal Affairs in charge of accountancy and finance.

From 1960 to [number indistinct] worked at the Ministry of Metallugy and Machine Industry.

From 1980 to the present day, chief scientific fellow at Budapest University of Economics. For the three years he had been away from the university, he worked as head of department and later head of division at the National Planning Office.

Main fields of research and activity: mathematical modeling and computer application, agricultural and environmental programmes, system development for economic management, macro-ecology and division design, regulation models.

Writer of a number of books and articles.

He has been on study tours abroad on scholarships and as a visiting teacher at various universities in the USA and Great Britain.

He had been a university lecturer also at foreign universities since 1964, and is member of several international scientific societies.

Obtained state language certificate from English and German. Married with five children.

Bela Kadar—minister of international economic relations

Born in Pecs in 1934.

Took a PHD at the Budapest University of Economics in 1956.

Worked at the International Economics Division of the National Bank of Hungary and then at the FTO Electroimpex.

Was on the staff of the institute for market trends and research.

Between 1965 and 1988 worked as scientific head of department and research director at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' World Economy Research Institute.

From 1988, director of the Institute for Economic Planning.

Took a candidate's degree in 1970 and became a doctor of economics in 1980.

Spent one year at Harvard University with Ford Scholarship and has been teaching since 1957.

Lecturer at Spanish Faculty of Eotvos Lorand University of Science until 1965, later guest lecturer in Santiage de Chile and San Marcos University of Lima.

Published 7 books and 300 studies.

Was awarded the Academy Grand Prix of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1985.

Active in a number of international scientific and political institutions. Coordinator of the Bridge Group and deputy chairman of the Economics Society.

Obtained state language certificate from English, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Russian.

Married with one child.

Bertalan Andrasfalvy—minister of culture and public education

Born in Sopron on November 17, 1931. Graduated as an ethnographer and museologist in Budapest and also studied Romanian language and literature.

From 1985 on the staff of the Hungarian academy of Sciences' ethnography research group. His main research area is folk economy and life style. 1971: candidate's degree in ethnography.

In 1989, an academic doctor's degree.

In 1980 awarded the Ericksson Prize by the Swedish Royal Academy. In 1983, won the award of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society. In 1988, elected member of the Finnish Literary Society.

Speaks German, understands English, Finnish, Romanian.

Took part in the 1956 uprising, one of the survivors of the Massacr of October 25 in front of the parliament building.

Has been a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum since 1988, member of its board.

Married with three sons.

K. Sandor Keresztes—minister of environmental protection

Born [words indistinct] (Cluj) in 1944.

Raised and educated in Budapest. Graduated from the Faculty of Architecture, Budapest Technical University in 1969 as construction engineer.

Took urban construction and management engineer's degree in 1976.

Has been construction designer in council apparatus, dealt with communal economy, settlement, environmental protection and urban and regional design. Has been dealing with relation of environmental protection and regional development.

Member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Married with three children.

Csaba Siklos—minister of transport and telecommunications

Born in Budapest in 1941.

Graduated from the Faculty of Transport Engineering of Budapest Technical University in 1965.

Worked in Berlin between 1965-68 for German railways, sat for traffic exams.

Worked for Hungarian railways traffice service and then for a year at the Railway Scientific Research Institute. Employed by the Gyor-Sopron-Ebenfurt Railway PLC, as head of division since 1974.

Participates in work of the International Railway Union since 1975, informed on European railways' experience on technical development and organisation.

Has state language certificate in German.

Joined the Hungarian Democratic Forum in October, 1988.

Married with two children.

Laszlo Surjan—minister of social welfare

Born in Kolozsvar (Cluj) in 1941.

Graduated from Budapest Medical University in 1969.

From 1969, assistant lecturer at the Institute for Histology, then pathologist at the Postgraduate Medical University.

Holds a candidate's degree in medical sciences.

Member of a number of Hungarian and international medical societies. Published about 50 medical studies.

Since 1987, deputy chairman of the National Union of Large Families. From 1989, member of the Christian Democratic People's Party. Was president of the committee which drafted the party's manifesto.

Speaks good English, understands German.

Married with three children.

Sandor Gyorivanyi—minister of labour

Born in Budapest in 1927.

Entered the Arts Faculty of Pazmany Peter University of Arts and Sciences in 1946.

Owing to his political activity expelled but obtained a teachers diploma in 1958. Subsequently worked in the Methodology Institute of the Ministry of Labour dealt with career orientation. Lectured at a number of higher education institutions. Has been director of vocational school between 1970 and 1987, until his retirement.

Took a PHD in 1958, in history of industry and technology, published 40 textbooks and some 200 studies.

Joined the Independent Smallholders Party in 1945, and worked for his university's party organization. Sent down from university.

In 1956, led a revolutionary committee and the group of his partys teachers group.

From 1989, ISP national secretary in charge of cultural affairs.

Married with one child.

Dr. Gyula Kiss—minister without portfolio

Born in Miskolic, in 1954.

Obtained diploma in law in 1980. Works as lawyer at the Miskolc Lawyers Chamber, specialises in civil law.

Joined the Independent Smallholders Party in 1989. Was elected national general secretary of his party in April, 1990.

Married with one child.

Jeno Gerbovits—minister without portfolio

Born in Zics, Somogy County, in 1925 to a peasant family.

Matriculated in Kaposvar in 1958 in agricultural vocational school.

Graduated from the University of Horticulture in 1968.

Was independent farmer and for a time member of an agricultural cooperative.

Speaks German, English and French.

Joined the Independent Smallholders Party in 1945 and renewed his party activity in 1989.

In 1990, became ISP deputy general secretary and general secretary of the Hungarian Peasant Federation.

Married, has two daughters and one grandchild.

Dr. Ferenc Madl—minister without portfolio

Born in Band, Veszprem County, in 1931.

Took degree in Law in 1955. Studied at comparative legal faculty of Strasbourg University between 1961 and 1963.

Director of, and professor at, the institute for civil law studies at the Faculty of Law of Evotvos Lorand Univeristy of Arts and Sciences, Budapest.

Specialises in civil law, trade law, international economic relations law, international private law and comparative law. Corresponding members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1987, participates in a number of international organisations and legislative forums, including the international trade legal academy.

Publishes 14 books and some 200 studies.

Wrote a book also on law, international economic relations, international investments law and EEC law.

Has state language certificate in English, French, German and Russian.

Married with one child.

### Early Turnout in Local Council Elections

*LD2705145490 Warsaw PAP in English 1314 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—Fifteen percent of the 500,000 electorate came to polling stations in the Nowy Sacz voivodship this morning, with the biggest turn-out being reported in the Labowa rural community (28 percent).

Till 12:00, the voivodship of Tarnow saw 16.7 percent of the electorate casting their votes, 29 percent of residents of the rural community of Greboszow came to polling stations.

Over 17 percent of those entitled to vote participated in the elections in the voivodship of Krasno, with the lowest turn-out being reported in Lesko and Olszanica—12.3 percent.

Till 11:00 this morning, 6.7 percent of the electorate cast their votes in Lodz, with the smaller number turning out in the district of Widzew—5 percent.

The voivodship of Szczecin saw 8 percent of the electorate coming to polling stations this morning and forenoon. The biggest turn-out was reported in the Lobez-Resko region where 12 percent of residents cast their votes.

In the voivodship of Cracow, 11.2 percent of the electorate came to polling stations till 11:00.

### Jaruzelski Votes, Comments

*LD2705164690 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski with wife Barbara cast their votes in the elections to local governments shortly after 11:00.

"This is an act of great significance," Jaruzelski said, "mainly because it opens up a considerably broader area for human activity and gives better instruments. As we have a lot of wise people in Poland, a lot of people who show commitment and energy, I think that they will use these instruments much better than it has been before.

"It is also of great importance that high temperature of action be maintained, which does not mean a fever. I would warn against the latter, understanding it as confrontations and conflicts. Poland needs every hand, every brain that wants to serve the country. Personally, I pin great hopes on the elections. I believe that they will contribute to further progress of our reforms, to the right direction of the transformations," Jaruzelski said.

### Local Election Turnout 42 Percent

*LD2705213390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] At 2000 the polling stations were closed. The current elections, the results of which will at the earliest be known in three days' time, will decide who, for the next four years, is going to represent the interests of the urban and rural population in the local authorities. More than 52,000 councillors will be chosen in the elections.

The Sunday elections were monitored by guests from abroad, including members of the European Community Council, French computing and data processing specialists, groups of Soviet observers from the Peace Committee, Dutchmen, and others.

According to the final data from the main electoral commissioner, the national turnout came to 42.13 percent. The largest number of voters turned out in Bielsko-Biala Voivodship, 58.46 percent, the lowest in Skierniewice Voivodship, 34.48 percent.

### Walesa on Reform Process, Railway Strike

*LD2505134190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 May 90*

[Interview with Lech Walesa by Andrzej Trojanowski in Gdansk; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Trojanowski] Chairman, you ought at this moment to already be in Oslo, and yet we are talking in your office in Gdansk.

[Walesa] That is right. I should be in Oslo. I should be encouraging them toward greater cooperation with Poland, because the revolution that we are taking part in requires greater involvement. I should be proving that Poland has the best possible chance of crossing the difficult road from one system to another. Poland is over 95 percent Catholic; Poland has Solidarity; and Poland has the Pope. Thus, she has better arguments than many other countries, and those countries, like Poland, have to get through this systemic change. However, fate has willed it that I stay in Poland, in a Poland in which demagogic forces are currently coming to the fore, forces of irresponsibility, forces which see only their own interest, their political interest. They are exploiting the dissatisfaction which exists; they are exploiting a difficult moment in our history. They want to impede Polish reforms. That is also why I am in Poland, so as to say this to their faces: This road leads nowhere. I, and almost the whole society are dissatisfied, but a change in the system cannot take place without radical changes, without a different approach. This is a difficult period, but it is indispensible. If we cannot stand the pace, we are threatened with demagogy, which augurs nothing good. After all, all of those people protesting can form their own union, if these unions do not suit them, and can attain their cause by legal methods, without destroying the fine economic fabric, without hindering, without giving trouble to people who can't arrive [as heard] or can't sort out various matters today. I am watching this situation. I am in Poland and I hope that common sense will prevail.

[Trojanowski] In your opinion, sir, what should the striking railway men do at this moment?

[Walesa] They must be given an honorable way out. They are right, because they really do live badly. Their protest, their justified protest, is, however, exploited by Miodowicz and a group of people who brought this country to ruin, people who destroyed the tremendous zeal of the 1980's. And today, they want to exploit the justified protest for their muddy game, a game which, all in all, will not solve anything. It may even lead to civil war. Is that what Miodowicz is after? If this happens, and it could happen, then Miodowicz will have to be the first to answer for this.

[Trojanowski] Will we find out the union's position regarding the rail strikes today?

[Walesa] Of course we will find out about it. We have called the National Commission. The Solidarity National Commission is responsible for the country. Like me, it is unhappy about what is happening. I appealed to the government, anticipating the things which are now happening. I tried a bit late, but I tried to react to this. My earlier warnings were seen as a fight, as a whim, as something which testifies that I am losing popularity and that is why I am trying to save myself. Yet, once again, it transpired that I was right, only this being right does not help anyone now. Today, we have to acquire common sense, we have to drive out these players, who, like hyenas, are exploiting the people's justified protests.

[Trojanowski] And now, to change the subject somewhat. The elections are on Sunday. Will you take part, sir?

[Walesa] Since I have not left the country, yes, I will take part in the elections, and I encourage it, despite the fact that this conflict is aimed precisely against the elections. Let's face it, someone is terrified that this time the game ends for many demagogues, for many crafty people, and that is why they want to show how great they are now, how very much they are defending interests, how they are defending interests more than Solidarity, and therefore, and therefore how they ought to be elected. It is a stupid game of a few people here and there. At the same time, they are pretending to represent the dissatisfied people who really have it bad, who really are fighting with justification, involving them as the electorate, so as to win election as the great defenders of the working world.

This is awful. I think people will not allow themselves to be deceived by this. People will understand that these people had their chance. They did not take advantage of it, and they are answerable for this whole mess, and now want to cover up the mess at the elections.

## Committee Spokesman on Walesa's Role

*LD2805102190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 28 May 90*

[Interview with Jerzy Sadka by Piotr Glowacki at the headquarters of the Protest Committee of Polish Railway Workers in Slupsk; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Glowacki] [passage omitted] I have asked for an interview with Mr. Jerzy Sadka, who has, up until now, been the press spokesman for the strikers, and who personally took part in Lech Walesa's talks with the participants in the hunger strike. Mr. Jerzy Sadka, can you give us a brief account of the talks which were conducted behind closed doors. Were they difficult?

[Sadka] Yes, today's [28 May] meeting allowed us to draw closer together because it was held with a smaller number of people. We had to trust each other and express some confidence in the government. The railway colleagues showed their goodwill from the beginning, and today they put this goodwill into practice by ending this harmful strike and the hunger strike, hoping that this will be properly understood by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who, nota bene, is our man, a man chosen by us.

Lech Walesa, the head and leader of Solidarity, expressed his position in an unequivocal manner. He also reiterated it today and said that he will take part with us in these difficult negotiations and that he will help do everything to insure that they will be implemented, both for this side and the other side.

In the near future, one will have a clearer answer, because on 13 [June] an open news conference will be held with the participation of Lech Walesa, the participants of the hunger strike, the strike committee which is transforming itself into a (?Junction) Enterprise Commission, appropriate experts, and the public.

[Glowacki] Are you satisfied with the fact that Lech Walesa has declared his help in resolving these pressing problems at the railways?

[Sadka] Yes, we are pleased today, and we believe in the leader who unequivocally stated that if he could not help he would lie down here and start a hunger strike.

## Walesa on Strike Negotiations

*LD2805165190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] The first [train] to move was in Szczecin. The first trains left as early as 0500. Lech Walesa's nighttime visit to the striking railway workers in Slupsk brought the long-awaited solution. At 0240, the strike action was suspended until 13 June, when Lech Walesa will once again go to Slupsk. All PKP [Polish State Railways] junctions in Pomorze and on the coast are in operation. The ports have returned to their normal work schedule.

[Begin Walesa recording] The law must be respected. The law must be changed, but once it is changed, we cannot do things outside the law. This country must become a lawful country. People do not believe in the law, because up until now, the law has been manipulated. But in this, our Poland, which we are now building, it will not be manipulated. If it is so written that only the trade union can declare a strike, then no other bunch of civilians can do so.

At the same time, I apologize up front to the viewers; I am so tired that I am not being precise. Gentlemen, there were no promises. There was simply and solely this statement. There were some [promises] when we were fighting, during the first approach, when I had to test the partner, because I did not know fully what was happening. And so, I tried this and that, including promises, to make use of the arguments. When I had made use of them, we signed only one current statement. Nothing else, no promises, but that does not mean that the railway workers will say: Yes, he cheated us, because he once gave us promises; then he did not deliver. No, gentlemen, I did not cheat the railway workers. I did everything honestly, I repeat, everything so that the railway workers would settle all their affairs as far as possible. And so, there is no dishonesty. Only, there cannot be any promises. I am not against the government. I am on their side. I am with them, and I will not cheat them. [end recording]

## OPZZ Leader Miodowicz on Railway Strike

*LD2705204890 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1940 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—Leader of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz speaking on railwaymen's strikes told PAP in part:

Some of the leaders of Solidarity are using an old Bolshevik method towards the OPZZ and me personally. Searching for the guilty outside authorities' camp reminds a witch hunt. [sentence as received]

If people express their dissatisfaction in such a dramatic way that they stage a hunger strike, then this should be received with great seriousness. It was not us who made a political scandal of this issue, but some of Solidarity activists and Lech Walesa are sort of trying to conceal the fact that Miodowicz went to Slupsk at the invitation from the strikers and talked to them as a union leader.

At the same time, it is clear nonsense to suggest that the left wing is looking for possibilities to spark off a revolt. It is well known that the left wing will not have a chance to reach for power in Poland for years to come, and even in view of this reason we have no other alternative than to support Mazowiecki's government, towards which we refer with recognition, although not uncritically towards its economic policy.

However let us speak about facts. The OPZZ council started to support the strike in Slupsk as late as May 23, when the hunger strike had already lasted for 14 days. Whereas I decided to intervene, at the invitation from strikers, only on one issue—to present to the government in Warsaw the (strikers') request to hold talks or at least initial negotiations in Slupsk. Nobody wanted to notice that the OPZZ from the very start was against the expansion of the strike.

However, most important are the origins of the conflict, the basic one being the growing social dissatisfaction stemming from the hitherto implementation of government's economic programme which brought along a greater-than-expected fall of production and the standard of living.

Now, it is clearly visible for what the OPZZ called from the start: Balcerowicz's plan must be corrected, especially in the direction to increase the supply. After all, the railway drama is taking place due to the fall of production and that there are not enough goods which the railway could transport and thus assure sufficient incomes.

For us, the most important issue is peace in the country. Many a time we had warned against strikes, we were always of the opinion that every conflict can be solved through negotiations, Miodowicz concluded.

## Railway Traffic Returning to Normal

*LD2905214990 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2015 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—According to reports of the main dispatcher's office of the Polish State Railways, only 25 out of the total 262 freight trains blocked by the strike last week were waiting today to arrive at Polish Baltic ports in Szczecin and Gdansk. All delays will be eliminated on Wednesday 30 May].

It is expected that the railway passenger traffic will come back to normal at midnight today [29 May].

## Railway Workers Strike Viewed as Inevitable

*AU3005082290 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish*
*26-27 May 90 p 1*

[Marek Siwiec editorial: "One Hundred Words"]

[Text] The strikes and the May crisis show how complicated the building of democracy is. In truth, one does not know what is happening. Dissatisfied people are making demands as of old, and the government (like it or not, a people's government) suddenly sees that it is on a confrontation course with the people. Suddenly, nobody wants to make use of the available democratic machinery. Both sides seem to be embarrassed by the situation, and intuitively both feel that they are losing.

Conflicts were bound to arise, more to pity is that nobody is prepared for them. "Solidarity" and its citizens committees are behaving like a tennis player who just made a brilliant serve without even conceiving of the

ball being equally well returned. The game continues. The winners are not looking around, they are full of confidence. From time to time they try to point out secondary opponents. However, the "commies" are there no longer, and time is pressing.

The concentration of all people in the face of the internal and external situation is becoming a necessity. Perhaps it would be beneficial to return to the supposedly defunct philosophy of the "roundtable" in order to enable all those who are anxious to help to actively participate in the arrangement of the common home?

## PAP Summarizes Sejm Debates 24 May

*LD2505164190 Warsaw PAP in English 1848 GMT 24 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—Pensions and political parties were among the leading items on the agenda of today's [24 May] meeting of the Sejm (lower house). However, before deputies focused on those problems the chamber was informed by Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz on two topical issues:

### Reform of Polish State Railways PKP

Presidium of the government recognized it necessary to accelerate the implementation of the already prepared reform of the PKP, which may lead to the simplification of organizational structure and removal of excessive employment in administration. Deputy Minister of Transportation and Maritime Economy Ewaryst Waligorski has been appointed government's plenipotentiary for the reform of PKP. The director of PKP's Pomeranian District has been recalled from his post.

### Wages

In tune with earlier announcements, depending on economic results in the first five months of this year, especially the shaping of the inflation index, the government will introduce, within the frame lines of the economic programme, corrections to the wage system. However, the government cannot meet wage demands, forwarded in strike conditions, wiping out possibilities for further implementation of the economic programme.

### Old-Age and Disability pensions

A discussion on old-age and disability pensions took deputies three hours. The Senate suggested 13 amendments to the law changing some retirement regulations. These issues which exceed the scope of the amendments introduced by the Sejm produced greatest problems. It has been another instance when the question of constitutional powers of the two chambers came to the fore.

A compromise solution has been found. Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz said that the Sejm legal committee prepared a separate draft law covering the postulates suggested by the Senate which exceeded the scope of the amendments introduced so far. The Sejm passed the law. Cancelled were the regulations concerning old- age and disability pensions for former top level civil servants and political figures. Those of them who retired before the retirement age will now get the lowest benefits.

The most important change introduced by the Sejm today, in line with the suggestion of the Senate, consisted in cancelling the possibility of earlier retirement of women who worked for 35 years and men with 40 years of employment, irrespective of their age.

### Law on Political Parties

The draft law presented by the legislative committee envisaged, among other things, that political parties gain legal status upon their notification in the register kept by the Constitutional Tribunal.

The Sejm adopted the law in the contents proposed by the committee with amendments made in discussion, 202 deputies voted for the law, 88 against it, and 33 abstained.

According to the law a political party is an organization whose status goal is to take part in exercising state power through participation in elections to the parliament or local self-governments.

It lies in the competences of the Constitutional Tribunal to rule that goals or activity of a political party are contrary to the Constitution. The tribunal's legal statement on dissolution of a party results in its being crossed out from the register.

Financial means for the implementation of a party's goals may come from membership fees, donations, inheritance, economic activity, or public generosity. Parties are not allowed to use any material or financial assistance from abroad.

The law rules that the state ensures the right of access to the state-owned radio and television for political parties.

## Committee on German Ties

*LD2505190490 Warsaw PAP in English 1642 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—At a joint meeting of the Sejm and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees devoted to Polish-Geman relations Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski today [25 May] presented the current state of negotiations conducted by the Polish Government with the governments of both German states concerning mutual relations and in particular their treaty settlement.

The government's efforts won the approval of both committees.

The Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee also examined and accepted the candidatures of Andrzej Lupina, expert in environmental protection, and Stanislaw Stawiarski, career diplomat, for ambassadorial posts in African states.

### Jaruzelski Establishes Commission on Katyn

*LD2505100990 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1327 GMT 23 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—President Wojciech Jaruzelski chaired a meeting held here today [23 May] devoted to the future fate of the Katyn documents handed over to the Polish President by Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow in April.

The key issue of the meeting was the setting up by the Polish president, in agreement with speakers of the Sejm and Senate, of a commission to be chaired by Professor Stefan Kieniewicz and outlining the scope of the commission's tasks.

It was agreed that the commission will make a scientific analysis of the documents in question and will carry on research studies to elucidate still unknown facts linked with the crime committed on the Polish prisoners of war.

### Soviet Su-27 Crashes During Training Excercise

*LD2605160790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*1005 GMT 26 May 90*

[Text] Yesterday [25 May] a Soviet military aircraft, an Su-27, crashed in the area of Bialogard. The plane came down in a meadow 4 km from the town, in the direction of Slawoborze, plowing quite deeply into the ground. The aircraft, accompanied by two other planes, was on a training flight. Here is the duty officer at the voivodship Internal Affairs Office in Koszalin:

[Begin (Zarzycki) recording] Captain (Zarzycki). We know that it came down, that there are no casualties, and that the pilot ejected. It came down in a meadow, causing no major damage. There are no major economic losses. The pilot saved himself. It was a Su-27. It was on a training flight and had no live ammunition or live bombs, and there is no danger of contamination or explosion of any kind. [end recording]

Let me add that the Su-27 is a latest generation fighter. It is an equivalent of the U.S. F-15 fighter, each of which costs nearly $28 million. The Su-27 was exhibited at the international air shows in London and Paris.

### Official on Polish-German Brigade Proposal

*LD2505103890 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1610 GMT 23 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—During his visit to Poland, GDR's Minister of Disarmament and National Defence Rainer Eppelmann presented a proposal concerning setting up Polish-German military brigades.

Asked by PAP about the attitude of the Polish Defence Ministry (MON), the press spokesman for MON, Lt. Col. Ireneusz Czyzewski said: "The idea of setting up Polish-German brigades surfaced in statements by some politicians earlier. Minister Eppelmann gave it a more concrete form while suggesting that two Polish-German brigades, of the naval and land forces, be set up. Poland received it with interest. It is too early for details, though."

"I can only say that that a group of experts, not only military, will review the proposal mainly as concerns practical possibilities of the materialization but also with regard to various consequences which could stem from this materialization. The matter has not only military dimension, but social and political ones as well. It also has its emotional layer. All these aspects will soon become the subject of expert analysis," the ministry's spokesman said.

### Mazowiecki Leaves for Two-Day Visit to France

*LD2805075990 Warsaw PAP in English*
*0750 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28: Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki left for a two-day official visit to France today.

"I am very glad I am going to France. I count on business-like talks which we expect will result in progress in Polish-French relations. It will also be of great significance for Europe," said Mazowiecki upon departure.

### Talks With Dumas

*LD2805123490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*1200 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki began an official visit to France this morning [28 May]. He is accompanied by Culture Minister Izabella Cywinska; Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Marcin Swiecki; and several undersecretaries of state. The aim of the visit is to intensify Polish-French economic cooperation. Apart from talks between the head of the Polish Government and President Francois Mitterrand and Premier Michel Rocard, numerous meetings with the Polish emigre community are also envisaged. The first talks between Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas has already been held at the airport. Later the Polish guests proceeded to the Hotel Crillon, located in the Place de la Concorde, which is the official residence of our premier during his stay in Paris.

### Increased French Investment Desired

*LD2805201490 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1945 GMT 28 May 90*

["Mazowiecki's Toast (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Paris, May 28—Delivering a toast during lunch hosted by French Premier Michel Rocard today, Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated in part: I stand on French soil for the third time this year. This shows the significance attached by Poland to contacts with France on a great many levels.

Today Poland is a sovereign country which systematically and speedily reconstructs democratic institutions.

On this very difficult road we need less and less aid and backing and more and more creative cooperation.

In the economic field we are counting on France backing our strivings to boldly resolve the problem of Polish debts. We want to achieve such a solution in which the payments of interest on the debt inherited from the previous regime would not paralyze our economy's developmental capacities. At the same time we would like to see increased French investment in Poland. Thus far the number of French enterprises which have engaged in joint ventures with Polish firms is small. France lags behind many other European countries in this respect.

In international matters we have received France's support regarding roads leading to a fully unquivocal confirmation of the inviolability of our western border. We are grateful for this support. It will contribute to the construction of sound foundations of our common Europe.

I think that both our countries have much to do together in the field of constructing the edifice of a future Europe. Our proposal of setting up a council for European cooperation as a permanent CSCE body, focusing mainly on the construction of a new European system of security, corresponds with President Mitterrand's vision of a European confederation. This great European process, whose key components are the unification of German states and striving of the Central European states to ever more strong and comprehensive ties with the West, is a historic challenge for our countries. Both France, which plays a key role in Europe, and Poland will have much to say and much to achieve with regard to the future of our continent.

### French Presence in Poland To Grow

*LD2805214690 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 28 May 90*

["Premier Michel Rocard's Toast (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Paris, May 28—In his toast during lunch hosted in honour of Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Premier Michel Rocard said among other things:

A year ago, the president of the French Republic announced in Warsaw the French programme for Poland which was the first signal of considerable European and Western assistance package for your country.

Supplemented in October, 1989, the programme involved considerable financial means of some 4 billion francs in various forms. A bilateral agreement on rescheduling Polish debt payments has also been concluded and France has not spared the support for Poland in multilateral institutions.

Poland's Government has started a bold policy aimed at the stabilization of economic situation.

We intend to support this process. France will considerably increase her presence in Poland.

An innovative assistance system for investments is being set up. I wish that the industry and French banks would strengthen their presence on the Polish market. They have already taken some efforts and they will continue to find encouragement after conclusion of certain, currently negotiated contracts in various fields.

France supports Poland, may Poland trust France.

The success of your reforms is important for the whole Europe. It is a means to the full participation in Europe, the desire of which you expressed while asking last June for admitting Poland to the Council of Europe. It is also an indispensable condition for deepening your relations with EEC. We entirely support this will of yours.

But the success of your venture has a broader scope. Only this (success) can guarantee that after the Europe of divisions a Europe of cooperation will emerge. To support a solidary Europe is a task that France wants to pursue. The president of France has clearly expressed it while presenting an idea of European confederation, which you Mr. Premier have mentioned yourself while putting forth the concept of the council for European cooperation.

European security assumes also that the formerly existing domination will not be replaced with rivalries between nations, which have already caused so much destruction in Europe. Therefore, the unification of Europe must be carried out within the framework of already-existing multilateral institutions and each country should be a member of them. Because of this particular reason, France, with the voice of the president of France supported Poland's request to participate in the "two-plus-four" talks of the Ottawa group, on the unification of Germany when they concern the border issue. This will make the subject of the third session of ministers of this group to be held in Paris this coming July. We rejoice over this bilateral will of dialogue as only this can open the road to new German-Polish cooperation.

### First Day Summarized

*LD2805220290 Warsaw PAP in English 2025 GMT 28 May 90*

[By PAP reporter]

[Text] Paris, May 28—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki started an official visit to France today [28 May]. He is accompanied by Minister of Culture Izabella Cywinska, Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki, and Undersecretaries of State Waldemar Kuczynski and Janusz Sawicki.

The goal of the visit is, among other things, to intensify the Polish-French economic cooperation. Its programme includes talks with President Francois Mitterrand and Premier Michel Rocard.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki and President Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a visit to France last March.

**Greetings at airport**

A special plane from Warsaw landed at the Orly Airport in the morning. The departure from Warsaw was delayed owing to the solution of the Slupsk conflict early in the morning today.

France's Foreign Minister Roland Dumas greeted Premier Mazowiecki at the plane's stairs.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki accompanied by the head of French diplomacy walked in front of the republican guard of honour. The band played the national anthems of Poland and France.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Roland Dumas held the first short talk at the airport.

**In Polish Library**

Premier Mazowiecki started his stay here from a visit to the Polish Library.

The head of the Polish Government was greeted by Chairman of the Historical and Literary Society Professor Andrzej Folkierski and the Society's council, Mrs. Bernadette Chirac, wife of Paris Mayor and outstanding politician, leader of the Gaullist Party among them. [sentence as received]

Tadeusz Mazowiecki was also greeted by Director of the Polish Libary Andrzej Krzeczunowicz and chairman of the so-called Local Committee Professor Henri Mazeaud.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki expressed deep satisfaction that his visit had started from the place which symbolizes close links between Poland and France.

The premier expressed respect and gratitude for those who contributed to the foundation of the Polish Library and the Historical and Literary Society, and to the survival of both institutions.

**Mazowiecki-Rocard Talks**

Next Tadeusz Mazowiecki proceeded to the Matignon Palace, the seat of the French Government's head where he held nearly one and a half-hour face-to-face talk with Premier Michel Rocard.

Following the meeting Premier Mazowiecki told newsmen that he is very satisfied over the course of the talk. It was very business-like, he said adding that both sides decided to do everything possible to intensify the Polish-French cooperation and to eliminate barriers that still exist in it.

France approaches with kindness the problem of the reduction of the Polish debt, the premier stated.

Premier Michel Rocard entertained the head of the Polish government to a luncheon in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during which both politicians delivered speeches.

**Meeting With Cardinal Lustiger**

Tadeusz Mazowiecki was received by Archbishop of Paris cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger at his seat.

**Talks at Elysee Palace**

In the afternoon Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was received at the Elysee Palace by French President Francois Mitterrand and held a hour-long talk with him. The two discussed issues of German unification, Europe and Polish foreign debt.

Mazowiecki next met with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas at the Polish Embassy.

According to the press spokesman of the Elysee Palace Hubert Vedrine, in acquainting President Mitterrand with the economic policy of his government, Premier Mazowiecki stated that it was difficult but nonetheless began to bear certain results. Mazowiecki stressed the extreme patience which Polish society manifested. For his part, President Mitterrand expressed support for the reform process begun by the new government and assured Mazowiecki that he would be "an advocate of Poland" as goes for its debt problem in talks with its creditors.

As concerns German-Polish relations, Mazowiecki stressed that Poland wants a treaty to be drawn up on the German-Polish border as soon as possible, before the unification of Germany. He confirmed that Poland wanted to join the two plus four talks, according to Vedrine.

**Meeting With French Polonia**

In the evening Premier Mazowiecki met with the Polish community residing in Paris at the dialogue centre.

"The key problem which Poland faces is a restructuring of its economy, introducing market principles and privatization. He look on with great admiration how Polish society overcomes today's difficulties. We are of course aware of the fact that the limits of patience are not endless. We must nonetheless act firmly so as to avoid a return of the spiral of wage demands. Hence our stand in the recent week, during the rail strike. A majority of society and railway workers thought that the strike was not right," Mazowiecki said.

"One must speed up the pace or reforms but this cannot threaten stability. We intend to hold fully free and democratic parliamentary and presidential elections next spring," the premier added.

Speaking about foreign policy, Mazowiecki stressed the significance of Polish efforts to take part in the two plus four conference. Polish-German reconciliation as well as

Polish-Russian reconciliation are also indispensable. Only after these tasks are completed can one think about embarking on other ones.

Speaking about Poland's foreign debt, Premier Mazowiecki said: "We are making efforts to solve this matter. We came to France to boost economic cooperation between the two countries. We have met with the French Government's favourable attitude here. One could even say that there is a will to endow Polish-French relations with a privileged nature."

### Meets Polonia in Paris

*LD2905183590 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Paris, May 29—During a meeting with Polonia here today [29 May], Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was asked many questions which showed that Polonia in Paris knew as much about Poland as Polish society.

Following are some of the questions and the Polish premier's answer:

(Q) Is there a dispute between the government and Lech Walesa?

(A) I met Lech Walesa in August 1980. I worked with him in difficult times and I always believed there was something deeper and valuable in this man. I have always highly held of him and I continue to do so. But differences between us are visible and quite sharp. Future problems might be difficult, maybe even dramatic. However, I do not want Poland to face this struggle. Maybe we will find a solution.

(Q) How do you assess cooperation with Wojciech Jaruzleksi?

(A) None of us has lost his identity. Wojciech Jaruzelski is a loyal partner. I respect and highly hold this.

(Q) Does the Polish Government intend to get rid of communists who still hold their posts but in the way which will make it impossible to accuse it of the so-called witch-hunting?

(A) There are numerous misunderstandings and lack of knowledge as far as this issue is concerned. One should recall that as a result of the round table we undertook certain obligations though it was not a secret agreement. Irrespective of this we are still making changes. For instance, there are 90 newly appointed undersecretaries out of 150. New voivods, deputy voivods and diplomats are being appointed. Under way is verification of employees of prosecutor's offices.

Numerous changes from below result now from the elections to local governments. There are many new managers. I was told that on the average there are three new appointments a day.

Generally we want to do it evolutionary and gradually in order not to push any category of people against the wall and not to do what was done with us. Of significance are changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defence. One should take into consideration that there was not any provable provocation aimed against this government in the recent months.

We will firmly continue changes but we will do this with common sense and without arousing hatred in Poland. The maintaining of the Polish line depends on this.

(Q) What is the polish government's policy towards Lithuania?

(A) We took all the steps, including an offer of good services, that we could take. One should be aware that no states have recognized Lithuania's independence so far. A question concerning a possibility of Poland's recognition of Lithuania's independence is unequivocal with a question concerning a possibility of breaking relations with the Soviet Union and withdrawing an ambassador from Moscow.

(Q) Is it true that Poland is isolated on the international arena and that none of the former socialist countries wants to establish an alliance with Poland?

(A) It is not true. However, in fact, each of these countries wants to make an individual escape to the West.

(Q) What is the Polish Government's stance on religion classes at school?

(A) The issue should be settled by a joint commission of the government and the Episcopate which was set up recently in a new composition.

My personal attitude towards the issue is not unequivocal. As a Catholic I have doubts whether an introduction of religion classes to school would be good for the Church in the long run.

On the other hand, I know there are places in Poland where it is difficult for the Church to organize catechizing centres. As a premier I believe the joint commission will work out a solution according to which the state will make it possible for the Catholic Church and other religious unions, which are interested int his, to teach religion. However, I do not think religion classes should be obligatory.

### France To Help Reschedule Debt

*AU2905181290 Paris AFP in English 1738 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Paris, May 29 (AFP)—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki Tuesday [29 May] obtained French assurances of support and understanding as it struggles with an enormous external debt. "The importance of the problem for the success of reforms in Poland is well understood and we are counting on France" to help Poland out, Mr. Mazowiecki told a news conference after talks with President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

With a foreign debt of 40 billion dollars Poland is hoping to reduce that burden by 80 percent.

Mr. Rocard indicated that support from France would be forthcoming. "Poland has an ally in us," Mr. Rocard said Tuesday.

French Finance Minister Pierre Beregovoy and Polish Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz were to sign a bilateral accord later Tuesday on the rescheduling of the French portion of 8.3 billion francs (1.4 billion dollars) in loans to Poland through the Club of Paris. But Mr. Mazowiecki expressed disappointment about the lack of French business investment in Poland. "We have decided to stimulate to the maximum the development of our economic relations, but governments can't do everything," he said.

Turning to European developments, the Polish official said that Paris and Warsaw agreed on "the establishment of a new European order" and the necessity for new institutions to achieve this end. He also said that there was "significant" support from France on the need for a treaty to settle the German-Polish border question.

On the issue of a united Germany belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Mr. Mazowiecki said he had nothing against it, as long as "the NATO borders remain unchanged, as proposed by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher." Poland was opposed to a neutral Germany, he said, "because we think it more desirable that a united Germany be integrated into a general system."

## 29 May Activities Reported

*LD2905194790 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1817 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Paris, May 29—Today [29 May], on the second day of his official visit here, Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki continued talks with his French counterpart Michel Rocard.

### Talks with Michel Rocard end

On behalf of the Polish side the talks were attended by Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki.

After the talks the two premiers met with newsmen.

While assessing the talks, the Polish premier expressed profound satisfaction over their course and results. He considered the intensification of Polish-French economic cooperation as the main goal of his visit.

We decided with Premier Rocard to do our best to maximally intensify economic cooperation between the two countries. France decided to increase this year credits designed to support French investments in Poland from 100 million francs to 300 million francs. I am very glad because it was announced there would be bigger French guarantees for businessmen who are ready to invest in Poland.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki said he was satisfied France treated with friendliness and understanding the Polish debt. It was decided the ministers for foreign economic relations of the two countries, Marcin Swiecicki and Jean Marie Rausch, respectively, will start stimulating economic cooperation between the two countries and removing all the existing barriers.

The Polish premier invited Michel Rocard to pay a visit to Poland

I believe that our visit to Paris and the talks we held served well breaking the reluctance of French businessmen to invest in Poland. The French Government also wants to combat this reluctance, said Mazowiecki.

We want to jointly move forward mutual cooperation. Testifying to this might be the fact that Poland placed an order for computerizing the Polish tax system with the French concern Bull, added he.

Michel Rocard told newsmen he would be glad to visit Warsaw still this year.

The talks with Premier Mazowiecki focused mainly on economic and financial issues. As early as in July 1989, soon after French President Francois Mitterand paid a visit to Warsaw, France set up foundations of aid for Poland, said Rocard.

Michel Rocard stressed that boldness of economic moves of the Polish government and the significance of the first positive results of the Balcerowicz plan would be of importance for future French investments in Poland.

Asked about France's attitude towards a partial concellation of the Polish debt, Michel Rocard said France had done a lot for Poland as far as rescheduling of the Polish debt was concerned. France is ready to help Poland and wants to do much more, said he.

Also today Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with president of the national Assembly Laurent Fabius.

The head of the Polish Government was also hosted by mayor of Paris, leader of the Gaullist Party Jacques Chirac and by members of the French Institute for International Relations.

A meeting between the Polish premier and director of the Literary Institute Jerzy Giedroyc was held as well.

### Mazowiecki's Press Conference

At a press conference held here today Prmier Mazowiecki highly appraised his talks with President Francois MItterrand and Premier Michel Rocard.

The talks with France's president held on Monday were devoted to international issues. They confirmed the consistent stand of France on treaty guarantees for

Poland's border with Germany as well as the convergent views of both countries on creation of a new European order, Premier Mazowiecki stated.

The visit nearing its end, he added, will certainly be conducive to tightening cooperation between Poland and France. We would like our relations to have a privileged character.

Next the premier answered numerous questions.

**On Debt Reduction**

I think there is a very considerable understanding for this problem on France's part. Paris is aware of the great importance of this matter for Poland and her reforms. I believe we may expect understanding and assistance from France although perhaps it is still too premature to talk about it now. But we must discuss the question, Premier Mazowiecki said. [passage indistinct]

## Mazowiecki on Germany, Lithuania

*LD3005011390 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1934 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Paris, May 29—The formula proposed by Minister Genscher suits us, the premier continued. We were never advocates of Germany's neutrality since it is better to have Germany included in a broader European system. We also think that realistic solutions to the presence of Soviet troops in the eastern part of Germany should be achieved in time, for instance, within seven years as Minister Genscher suggested.

Poland is not interested in speeding up the process of Germany unification, but to a greater degree she cares that it is regulated so it does not slip out of control, Mazowiecki stated.

In reply to the question whether the possibility of transforming the Polish debt into foreign capital shares in Polish enterprises was considered, the premier said:

To some degree we do not exclude such a solution provided it is accompanied by an inflow of new capital and a considerable reduction of the Polish debt takes place.

**On Lithuania and Gorbachev**

There is concern about Gorbachev all over the world. We share it, Mazowiecki stated.

As concerns the problem of Lithuania, we have always considered it most important that direct talks between Vilnius and Moscow be held. We think only such talks can bring about progress. On our part we have done everything possible, voicing the readiness for good will services including. [sentence as received]

**On Local Elections**

We have never considered the elections a test for the government but the beginning of restoring democracy down below. Personally I count very much on the role of these institutions. It is not without significance that now 52,000 people will take responsibility for concrete issues in their hands, Premier Mazowiecki said.

Culture Minister Izabela Cywinska, present at the conference, stated that the cultural relations with France are very good. Their further intensification was agreed upon during her talks with Minister Jack Lang. In 1991 the presence of Polish culture in France is to increase.

Jack Lang promised assistance in formation of a European cultural center in Krakow. He is to come to Warsaw in September for the Chopin piano contest.

**Premiers' Meetings**

In the afternoon, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received in the Polish Embassy here, representatives of the Polish Catholic Mission, the organizer of the religious life of Poles in France.

Later, at the embassy, the premier held a friendly meeting with leaders of five trade union organizations CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], CFTC [French Confederation of Christian Workers], FO [Workers Force], CGC [General Confederation of Managerial Personnel], and TEN [expansion unknown]. CGT [General Confederation of Labor] representative have not been invited. During the meeting, the premier cordially thanked members of trade unions for the assistance granted to Solidarity in France and Poland in the difficult years after the introduction of martial law.

At the headquarters of the Federation of Employers Premier Mazowiecki met with a large group of French financiers and businessmen.

The chairman of the federation Francois perigot highly assessed the general direction of Polish economic reforms and stressed that there was a need for greater participation of French business in Poland.

The premier expressed his recognition for all those French entrepreneurs who had already decided to enter Poland's economic life and encouraged those who still hesitate to do the same. Premier Mazowiecki stressed that Poland transforming towards market economy and introducing a fully democratic system was already a normal country and wants to be treated as such. Hence, there can be conflicts like the latest railway strike. Such phenomena may and will happen. However, they should not be viewed as something that could threaten our stabilization. "I suppose, that the government has proved that they will not allow for this," the premier said.

A meeting with French and Polish intellectuals, permanently living here, at the Polish Institute was the last item of Mazowiecki's visit.

Mazowiecki thanked French intellectuals for assistance they had given to Solidarnosc in difficult years of martial law when the struggle for freedom in Poland was waged.

He stressed also numerous and centuries-old links of Poland and Poles with French culture.

"We would like these links to be even more intensive now when free and democratic Poland wants to be a joint participant in our common Europe. All of us should overcome these divisions, no longer political and military ones but these concerning the economy and living standards (that is possibilities of access to culture) between the two parts of Europe. There will not be any common Europe unless we make a great effort to this effect. I think that France will come up to our expectations and give us assistance in this respect," said Mazowiecki.

Tonight, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the accompanying personalities left by plane for Warsaw.

### Demonstrations Continue in University Square

*AU2505121490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/05/1990—The unauthorised demonstration in Bucharest's University Square continued last evening but people failed to show up in the expected numbers after leaflets had been distributed in many places across the country and printed by certain newspapers that called to a large rally. Although more Bucharest high school students had arrived in the square, the number of demonstrators did not rise significantly but averaged a few thousand. Speakers from the balcony of the Geology Faculty suggested that a wooden church be built in that "neo-communism free zone" in memory of the people who died there on 21 and 22 December.

The speeches, mainly directed against neo-communism in Romania and contesting the results of the 20 may poll alternated with poetry recitals and folk music performance. The speakers as well as the demonstrators states their intention not to leave the square until the final defeat of communism.

### Appeal to Hunger Strikers

*AU2705175390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1990—The "DECEMBER 21" Association of Bucharest has released an appeal to the hunger strikers in the University Square showing it shares their stand and considers that "every individual has the fundamental right to decide on the forms of expression of his beliefs." The appeal further reads:

"In consideration of their very dangerous condition now, we urge our upright and brave brothers of fight to give up this form of protest which has anyway reached its targets for this stage."

### Further on Demonstration

*AU2805181290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1549 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1990—The demonstration in the University Square continued on Monday morning when several hundred people were still in the respective area. There are less tents in front of the National Theatre and they still play host to people who have been on a hunger strike for quite some time.

People there talk political issues related to the May 20 election results and Romania's future. The opinions of the demonstrators differ from those of occasional passers-by. The former say they are still in the square "to continue the revolution," while the latter consider their demonstration as no longer needed.

The square continues to be assaulted by peddlers. Traffic has not opened yet.

### Demonstrators Stay

*AU2905180590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/5/1990—The number of demonstrators in the University Square on May 29 was, just like the day before, several hundreds. They were joined now and then by numerous occasional passers-by.

The demonstrators that have been for some time in this zone "free of neo-communism" expressed their dissatisfaction at the authorities' refusal to conduct a dialogue with them before cameras. They also expressed their determination to stay in the square until all claims are granted. However, a great many passers-by urged them to give up this continued protest and go back to their jobs.

The worrying condition of those that to this day are still on hunger strike, associated even by some of them with a thirst strike, also arrested the attention of the passers-by. The last health report made by the staff of the two ambulances that keep vigil in the square, shows that two strikers were given emergency aid in the last 24 hours. Besides obvious loss of weight the hunger strikers also show psychic instability.

### Health Ministry on Protesters

*AU2905201090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1901 GMT 29 May 90*

["Political Life: Romanian Government's Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/5/1990—The Government of Romania follows with growing anxiety the health condition of the hunger strikers in University Square, shows a statement sent to the news agency ROMPRES, which also specifies that on May 29 there still were in such a situation ten persons: Anton Valentin, Dumitrescu Victor, Niculita Gabriel, Cobzaru Purice Dorin, Constantinescu Ionel, Tabacaru Gheorghe, Bogdan Gradin, Poplitaru Ovidiu, Lungu Danut and Borza Marin.

The statement says inter alia: The government has been concerned both by the reasons which made the men on strike to resort to such an extreme form of protest and by their health condition, and has sought to concretely get informed and initiate a dialogue with the strikers who rejected it for several times over, being even violently stopped by those who have abusively occupied the city's University Square. In such a situation, the government's only information source has been the daily reports received from the medical assistance teams put at the disposal of the square occupants. The latest investigation bulletin made in laboratory shows unalarming glycemia levels. Added to the refusal of dialogue was the hunger strikers' written refusal to continue their action in a medical unit under specialty control.

The statement also expresses concern "over such an action that obliges us to seek various forms of saving the strikers' life".

"Facing the impossibility of acting against their own will, we shall do our best to make them get out of such an extreme situation. We demand the ones who hinder dialogue on political reasons to give up such a profoundly non-democratic attitude which is also highly dangerous for the hunger strikers", the statement shows in conclusion.

A communique received from the Ministry of Health on the condition of the hunger strikers in Bucharest's University Square specifies that on May 29, 1990 an investigation of glycemia on the ten strikers made in the laboratory of Coltea Hospital evinced that it ranged between 54 and 83 mg per cent (the normal glycemia values being between 60 and 120 mg per cent).

Taking into account the long period of time and the vital risk it implies, the health authorities have repeatedly called attention, through the agency of the physicians who provide them medical assistance, on the danger of continuing strike outside health units apt to ensure them, if needed, operative application of specific therapeutical procedures. [sentence as received]

The Ministry of Health considers it is its duty to warn again over the real danger of the occurrence of irreversible lesions incompatible with life if the hunger strike extended over a longer period of time, the communique reads.

### Mayor Fails To Move Protesters

*AU3005112490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] On 30 May, at 0630, Bucharest Mayor Mr. Dan Predescu went to University Square to lend a helping hand to the employees and vehicles from the Bucharest Sanitation Enterprise that wanted to enter the square and open the road to motor traffic in that central part of the city. The ROMPRES agency reports that several citizens—out of several scores of people present in the square at that time—immediately surrounded the mayor and objected to the measures. In his talk with the demonstrators, Mr. Dan Predescu said that his move is motivated by the many complaints and letters received from citizens living in the area and elsewhere, all of whom are asking City Hall to take urgent steps to clean the square and open it to traffic.

The mayor said that the demonstrators can continue their rally on the pavement or some other place where the circulation of motor vehicles and pedestrians is not hampered.

At 0730, the Bucharest mayor left University Square without having reached an understanding with the demonstrators. Road traffic could not be resumed. Many passers-by expressed their disapproval for the continuation of the unauthorized rally, which has been blocking the center of Bucharest for more than a month.

### Police Try To Break Through

*AU3005133790 Paris AFP in English 1320 GMT 30 May 90*

[Excerpt] Bucharest, May 30 (AFP)—Romanian police failed on Wednesday [30 May] in a bid to break through a blockade of the street leading to the capital's University Square which anti-government demonstrators have occupied for 39 days.

Hundreds of demonstrators stopped 100 police trying to make their way to the square, in the center of Bucharest, witnesses said. Several hundred demonstrators had blocked Balcescu boulevard by sitting in the street about 200 metres from the "communist-free zone" on the square. The helmetted police carried wood and rubber truncheons.

Early in the morning six lorries approached a barrier formed by demonstrators, but did not try to force their way through.

Confusion reigns in the heart of the city, shaken by an earthquake earlier in the day that sent frightened residents pouring into the streets. [passage omitted]

### Sailors' Strike Stalls Danube Traffic

*AU2705175590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1517 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1990—May 27, 1990 is the fifth day since no cargo or passenger boat sailed on the Danube because of the strike of the INF NAVROM [Romanian Maritime and River Navigation] Galati sailors' strike. They were joined by the Sulina, Tulcea, Braila and lower Danube administration sailors as well as by the workers in the ports by the respective localities. All in all, over 10,000 sailors and port workers are on strike, which bears negatively on the smooth run of the economic activity in their counties and the country over.

The two attempts to negotiate have failed.

### Strike Continues

*AU2805191790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/5/1990—The INF "NAVROM" [Romanian Maritime and River Navigation] sailors' strike continues. It has been the sixth day since the sailors stopped commodity and passenger shipping on the Danube.

The trials for dialogue between the Sailors' Trade Union and the INF "NAVROM" management, the representatives of the shipment department in Bucharest failed.

As the sailors' trade union leader, Gheorghe Vrabie, stated, the strike will not cease till their claims are solved. In such conditions, the need was shown that the discussions with the Sailors' Trade Union should also be attended, along with the managerial staff in the enterprise and the shipment department, by representatives of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and of the Ministry of Finance.

### Danube Strike Expands

*AU2905180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/5/1990—The strikers of Navrom Galati, Braila, Tulcea, Cernavoda, Agigea, Galati, Sulina Free Port were joined by the sailors of the Navrom Drobeta Turnu Severin on May 29 in the morning. The Trade Union strikers estimated that the money lost by the national economy in a few days would have been enough to meet absolutely all their claims.

Some opine that the conflict can only be settled through a dialogue on the spot to which are invited representatives of the Ministries of Transport, Labour and National Economy.

### Inquiry Commission Demanded

*AU2905151990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1132 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/5/1990—"An abusively started and unjustified strike," says a statement of the Naval Transport Department on the strike initiated on 23 May by Galati seamen.

Showing that some of the 16 claims of the River Shipping Workers' Free Trade Union were solved, the remaining being included in a bill that all relevant ministries advised and is to be read in the new parliament when it meets in session, the statement says: On 23 May 1990 the Free Trade Union of River Shipping Workers made 22 new claims and went on strike. Part of them cannot be negotiated since they are unjustified: A 50 percent pay increase, night shift bonuses for the past three years, etc. Talks between representatives of the Naval Transport Department and union leaders where deadlocked when the latter refused to back down on their claims.

Since all the problems that were raised last April were solved in correlation with the other transport departments and national sectors, and NAVROM of Galati which was a profit-making enterprise in 1989 faces bankruptcy now, we regard the strike as abusively started and unjustified, says the statement which adds: In consideration of the prejudice it brought to major industrial units we ask the Government of Romania to set up an inquiry commission to appraise the damage to the national economy and the responsibility of its authors.

### Iliescu Blamed for Counterrevolution

*AU2905105590 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 22 May 90 p 1*

[Ilie Paunescu article: "The Counterrevolution After 20 May"]

[Text] Mr. Ion Iliescu is far from having gained the stature of a politician in his five months of governing. After a long series of awkward political acts—some of them serious and the one in Tirgu Mures very serious —the way he organized the election campaign and the elections themselves now seem to be an error in calculations.

Immediately after 22 December 1989, one could still believe that, no matter how incorrectly, the still provisional Mr. President had accomplished skilled maneuvers when he hijacked the revolution. Time, however, proved that in fact there was something completely different at stake: the launching of a counterrevolution starting in the very first hours after Ceausescu's attempt to escape.

Any counterrevolution tries to achieve what is impossible to achieve and to freeze the development of events or to turn back the clock. However, until now no counterrevolution has had any real chances of success in Europe since the French Revolution. Mr. Ion Iliescu does not give the impression that he will succeed and thus contradict this century-old experience.

With the series of errors he has made since 12 January, he has strengthened one's impression of him as a man craving power but unable to achieve anything other than more and more vigorous opposition and a deteriorating economic crisis, which may lead to some form of deadlock, including an explosion resulting from people's dissatisfaction. Mr. Ion Iliescu's smile cannot hide the fact that the situation is more and more dangerous for him, for the Communist Party in power, and for the country pushed toward a serious disaster.

Today this blunt counterrevolution of grotesque perversity and fully proven incompetence proclaims its victory in the elections. The resemblance to 1946 is striking. Trying, through tremendous electoral fraud, to keep in power a kind of worn neocommunism without any horizons, Mr. Iliescu creates a new situation without any prospects for which our country may pay very dearly. Up until a few days ago, he said that he was for a coalition obviously resembling the one of Petru Groza's inauspicious "broad coalition government." However, the actual balance of forces and the sociopolitical context of 1990 will not permit Mr. Ion Iliescu to reserve the trouble for his partners while being credited with the benefits. Without such a possiblity for blame, the coalition would only bring about a catastrophe for the neocommunist revolution.

Such a government would have to be cut off from reality, without any reliable foreign help from any cardinal point, and especially without any political link to our country's intelligentsia.

This is the greatest worry of the counterrevolution in the period after the electoral fraud of 20 May 1990.

Mr. Ion Iliescu's mistake is trying to save his power in May according to the model figured out in February. Meanwhile, an opposition movement came into existence in our country. It has developed with an impressive dynamism throughout the country and in people's minds.

The live forces of the nation belong to this continuation of the revolution. The counterrevolution is based on the structures and vis inertiae of a communism that is hampered within and from outside the country to make use of its fierceness. Without this only trump the counterrevolution is helpless.

As it seems, the 20 May electoral fraud has not opened up real prospects for Mr. Iliescu. Let us hope that, by inevitably making disjointed efforts to make sure that things turn out well, the counterrevolution will give up its ghost without large or many convulsions.

### Gorbachev Congratulates Iliescu on Election

*AU2905181490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1629 GMT 29 May 90*

["Official News: Congratulatory Telegram"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, ROMPRES, 29/5/1990—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a congratulatory telegram to Mr. Ion Iliescu on his election as president of Romania, showing: I express my hope that the Soviet-Romanian ties will fruitfully develop in all domains, in the spirit of friendship and good neighbourliness, and will serve the interests of the peoples in our countries, the consolidation of peace and stability on the European continent.

### Magyar Minority Leader Assesses Elections

*AU2605211290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 26 May 90*

[Text] The Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR] organized, at its Bucharest headquarters, a news conference on 26 May with the participation of Romanian and foreign journalists. The political group's president, Mr. Geza Domokos, spoke about the unfolding of the electoral campaign, about the MDUR results in the 20 May elections, and about the MDUR's future activity in the parliament and in Romania's political life.

Emphasizing that the MDUR came in second in the elections, the speaker said that this meant that the MDUR elected 29 parliament deputies in 15 counties and 12 senators in 10 counties.

Concerning the electoral campaign, he said that the data available so far indicate that it proceeded in a calm and civilized way. Concerning the voting itself, which emphasized the massive endorsement of Romania's Magyar population for the MDUR program and platform, Mr. Domokos said that it generally proceeded in a normal way and that there is no proof of attempts to influence or intimidate the electorate.

### Socialist Party on National Interests, Harmony

*AU2405164990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1536 GMT 24 May 90*

["Romanian Elections: Statement by the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/5/1990—In an official statement released on May 24, the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party considers that nothing can be put before the country's interests and the Romanian people's interests as they are presented by the returns of the May 20 elections. Any verbal aggression, any urge to social disorder and disunion, any kind of journalistic language that can morally prejudice the Romanian people and the whole country represent only a mean party interest which offers the opportunity of opening again the dangerous course of hatred and national disunion behind political slogans of sad memory.

### Article Charges Election Fraud

*AU2805190190 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 23 May 90 p 1*

[Cornelia Dimofte article: "The History of Fraud Was Repeated"]

[Excerpts] There have not been such large-scale elections since 1947. All of us wanted democracy and freedom, but not all of us went to the polls with a dignified attitude toward our children and grandchildren.

The four months of the Front's radio and televised propaganda were enough to persuade the voters to refuse to become acquainted with the contents of the opposition newspapers. That is a pity! The miniparliamentarians demanded in vain that a jurist, lawyer, or judge be present at each polling stations. Following a check carried out at 50 sections, there was only one jurist present. Nothing counts more than a kilogram of salami received in addition to the neocommunist ration, which we will consume during a new era. [sentence as published] [passage omitted]

We let ourselves be robbed for the second time. Then, by tanks, now through slander, attacks, lies, general disinformation, and fraud. This is why the ghosts of our martyrs will haunt us until all of us understand that the revolution was not only directed against Ceausescu, but, instead, against communism.

### HDUR 'Contests' Decision on Education

*AU2905150090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1223 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/5/1990—The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] contests the validity of the decision the Government took on 12 May concerning education in the 1990/1991 academic year.

A communique of the union's presidium, sent to ROMPRES, argues its complaint with the assessment that "as far as ethnic minorities are concerned this measure sets a framework and norms worse than during the dictatorship."

The document specifies that the HDUR has advanced a note in this respect to the president elect of Romania and demands that the government's decision be not carried into effect before the note is examined "on the basis of a constructive and rational dialogue" the HDUR "counting on the understanding and support of the democratic forces."

### Nicu Ceausescu's Trial Resumes in Sibiu

*AU2905200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1922 GMT 29 May 90*

["Justice: Trial in Sibiu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/5/1990—The trial of defendant Nicu Ceausescu, ex-first secreary of Sibiu County RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Committee, charged with genocide crimes and non-observance of weapons and amnunition rules, continued in Sibiu on Tuesday, May 29.

During the session, the court heard the deposition of ex-officers of the Ministry of National Defence, the Minister of the Interior and the State Secret Police Department as well as of some of the defendants' associates.

Among the witnesses was also Postelnicu Tudor, ex-minister of the interior, who was sentenced for genocide, and Dragomir Aurel, former head of the Military Garisson in Sibiu.

### Andruta Ceausescu's Trial Resumes

*AU2905145790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1214 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/5/1990—The trial of Andruta Nicolae Ceausescu [brother of Nicolae Ceausescu], charged with genocide committed on the days of the revolution, resumed on May 29.

Two witnesses, called to the bar by both the prosecution and the defence, will be heard.

Added to the file of the trial were the forensic exam results which were requested by the Defence Council as well as papers from three of the seven plaintiffs in the trial.

### * Prosecutor Robu on Law, 'Truth,' 'Justice'

*90BA0116A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 May 90 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Prosecutor General Gheorghe Robu by Igor Butnaru; place and date not given—first paragraph is ROMANIA LIBERA introduction]

[Text] One of the prerequisites for basing Romanian society on a new foundation is observance of the principles etched on the banner of our Revolution: Justice, Freedom, and Democracy, basic human rights and liberties, and the law as a supreme reflection of the people's will. An essential role along this line is incumbent on the Prosecutor's Office, and this is what we discussed with Mr. Gheorghe Robu, Romania's prosecutor general.

[Butnaru] To begin the interview you were kind enough to give us, Mr. Prosecutor General, please tell us something about the current condition of the institution and function of the prosecutor general in post-Revolutionary Romania.

[Robu] By virtue of the principle of separation of powers in the state, which squarely lays the entire responsibility on our shoulders and which is the basic condition and guarantee for ensuring democracy, freedom, and justice, the duty of the Prosecutor's Office is to defend the law, while the prosecutor himself—who must be competent and honest—is bound only by the law. Practically speaking, this means that there cannot be any interference by the political arm in the activities of the prosecutor's bodies and of the prosecutor.

[Butnaru] Along this line, is there any risk involved in the double subordination of the military prosecutors?

[Robu] Out of the question. The military prosecutors are not subject to a double subordination. Like the civilian prosecutors, they are only subject to the law, and hierarchically only to the prosecutor general. However, the law rules that they will deal with certain crimes, such as genocide. In point of fact, any civilian prosecutor may become a military prosecutor by concentrating on that type of case; this is what is happening now, when the situation created after the Revolution—we have over 560 files only on cases concerning the repression—made it necessary to increase the number of such slots. Similarly, we dispatched to Bucharest about 50 civilian prosecutors from regional offices.

[Butnaru] Could you not have acquired the necessary number of staff by attracting to the Prosecutor's Office people with sound legal training, who for various reasons were found undesirable by the former regime and had to work as legal consultants, lawyers, in administrative jobs, and so forth?...

[Robu] We were left with the same staff, approximately 1,330 prosecutors, 40-50 percent of whom we replaced. I believe that this process of rejuvenating the Prosecutor's Office was natural and, as it is being effected gradually, we expect it to be completed by about the end of the year, without interfering with our activities.

[Butnaru] Do you not think that a more radical and more rapid purge is called for?

[Robu] This sort of viewpoint is claimed by what is known as the 'Polish theory,' which calls for the radical restructuring of certain institutions. But the Poles did not have to deal with the same phenomena. We have to find out the entire truth about the repression and at the same time, to ensure current activities, in which area, incidentally, I have to tell you, we are recording an increased incidence of felonies, particularly of a violent nature.

[Butnaru] We are frequently being notified that various members of the Communist nomenklature, who held important leadership positions in the machinery of Ceausescu's dictatorship, in central and local party bodies, or at the Interior Ministry and Securitate, are not being arrested and investigated. Moreover, some of them requested and received disaster relief or are once again holding important positions.

[Robu] That's possible. As we stated on previous occasions, we are just now at the beginning of this process, in which in the first three months of this year, less than 100 prosecutors interviewed more than 15,500 persons and verified their claims point by point. We can send to court only cases involving undisputable penal felonies. Merely having held certain positions in various political bodies of the former regime does not constitute a felony. There are such investigations underway throughout the country, but they are focusing on complex felonies, such as undermining the national economy or even economic crimes—embezzlement or abuse of power—which require lengthy investigations and complex expert advice. But we cannot have those in question arrested as long as we do not have the necessary proof...

[Butnaru] Let us dwell for a moment on the repressive mechanism and on the Timisoara trial, which was recently resumed...

[Robu] We must not forget that in Timisoara there was shooting, many victims fell, about 800 of the demonstrators were forcibly seized from the crowd and put in jail. None of that was incidental. There existed a criminal pact, a battle command against the Revolution, which had very precise missions. They acted with premeditation according to a well established plan, each of them having precise tasks in his specific sector. Take, for example, the defendant Teodorescu: If you listen to him talk about his duties as a counterespionage expert, you'd think he did almost nothing. But hundreds of people were pursued and sent to jail on the basis of information provided by Teodorescu, who was listening to telephone conversations and gathering information about dangerous persons or 'movement leaders.' Hence, Teodorescu's role was essential, and his argument that he sat quietly in his office and didn't shoot, is irrelevant.

[Butnaru] Right. So who did shoot? When will we know that and when will they be put on trial? What trials will there be in the near future?

[Robu] We sent to court the file of Nicu Ceausescu, charged with genocide in Sibiu, where there was shooting at his order and on his instructions. He is also charged with crimes against public property through the party administration, used to serve the family, for which about 2 million lei were spent annually. Another 26 defendants will soon stand trial in connection with reprisals against the Revolution, i.e., for genocide. They are former members of the political executive committee of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee who held meetings and said on television: 'Shoot into the crowds!' And they shot.

[Butnaru] Why have only the events of 16-22 December been investigated and charged? The genocide was not limited only to that period and to the approximately 1,033 people who were killed during those days...

[Robu] Of course. For the time being, however, we are investigating mostly the events concerning the repression of the Revolution. For certain previous felonies it will be difficult to put people on trial, because an amnesty decree was issued in 1986 that covered a very wide spectrum of felonies. We are investigating the situation and we will come up with a legal solution.

[Butnaru] Let us go back to the trial. More precisely, to those who actually did the shooting.

[Robu] So far 74 persons have been sent up for trial. I will give you a few examples. In Timisoara, 22 officers of the former Ministry of the Interior and Securitate were charged (file No. 28/-P-1990), including Major Iosif Veverca of the former Judiciary Service of Timis County Militia, who in the evening of 18 December directed bursts of automatic fire at a group of demonstrators, killing Ianos Paris. The trial is in the docket. Also in Timisoara, reserve Captain Vasile Joitoiu (file 62/P-1990) will stand trial for murder and attempted murder, because in the evening of 17 December 1989 he opened automatic fire on a group of three persons, killing Lepa Barbat and inflicting life-threatening wounds on Vasile Barbat. Also in Timisoara there is the trial of Corporal Pavel Dumitru (file 33/P-1990) of Lugoj Militia Unit 1140, who on 20 December 1989 shot into a group of demonstrators on Calea Timisoarei killing Valentin Rosada and Daniel Brocea and wounding Nicolae Mircea Bejan and Nicolae Simion Stoica. The file 25/P-1990 was opened against Sergeant Vasile Bandula of the former Timisoara Municipal Militia, who attempted two murders on 18 December by shooting and wounding Petru Moldovan and Vasile Moldovan. In Sibiu, 19 former officers and two civilians,

including Major Ion Batarel; Lieutenant Colonel Constantin Cirneci; Majors Ioan Sabau and Ion Bunda; Second Lieutenant Ovidiu Craciun; Lieutenant Liviu Paltineanu, and Warrant Officer Nicolae Morar will be tried for manslaughter; Captain Liviu Vanga and Second Lieutenant Aurel Marcu for aggravated murder, and Major Florin Dobre and Captain Ion Negrila for complicity in or incitement to murder. Another group is on trial in Cluj, among them: Colonel Florian Brihac—the head of the Alba Interior Ministry Inspectorate, who on 21 December gave the order to open fire on demonstrators in Cugir; Major Gheorghe Lupes, the head of Alba County Securitate, and Lieutenant Colonel Stefan Ceausescu, head of the counterintelligence service, who opened handgun fire on people on 21 December 1989, and Captain Gheorghe Burian of Alba Securitate, who shot at demonstrators in Cugir on 21 December and in Alba Iulia on 24 December; Captain Valentin Pop, head of the Cugir Militia and Corporal Ilie Staicu, also of the Militia, belonged to the same group of terrorists, but were executed by the revolutionaries on the spot... And, of course, there will be similar trials for those who killed 46 revolutionaries in Bucharest on 21-22 December, and others...

[Butnaru] One last question: At what stage are the investigations of cases of people who were molested by Police in the area of Intercontinental Hotel on the night of 24 April?

[Robu] I don't know whether people were beaten up at the Intercontinental on that date. So far we have received only two complaints, one of which actually came today (Thursday, 3 May), and we have ordered an investigation.

[Butnaru] Several people came to our newspaper...

[Robu] They would have done better to have come to the Prosecutor's Office with a complaint and a medical-legal certificate. I think that to a certain extent, people like the publicity; having one's name in a major newspapers is an attraction...

[Butnaru] That, of course, remains to be seen. Thank you for your clarifications.

## * Vatra Romaneasca Calls for National Unity

*90BA0102C Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 9 May 90 pp 1, 2*

["Appeal to the Country" issued by the National Conference of the Vatra Romaneasca Union; place and date not given]

[Text]

**Romanians,**

We are now at a time of crucial importance for the future of the Romanian nation. With God's help and thanks to the sacrifice of the youth, Romania is coming into the light after a long period of darkness and terror that cruelly tested the entire nation.

However, we are still far from the haven of peace, relaxation, and fruitful labor for which we yearned during the years of opression, when only belief in God and in the future of the Fatherland preserved our self-confidence.

We have hardly ended bringing down the dictatorship, when hostility and hatred appeared among us! The spirit of solidarity and brotherhood among all the citizens of this country has flagged, as if we had forgotten that we are the sons of the same horizons, the same land!

The political pluralism that the December Revolution established as the new political structure has not yielded the results we expected! It has not forged an honest competition among parties but is offering the sad spectacle of division and quarrel among brethern.

**Romanian Brothers!**

Only our strength and sacrifice can place a new Romania on the world's map, a Romania worthy of its own history. We are the only ones who can do it; this is the one certain solution to the countless problems! We cannot rely on anything but ourselves! This is what we have learned in the four months since the Revolution and in 45 years of terror...

Let us not forget that the political regime of the past 45 years was not chosen by the Romanian people! Communism was imposed on us by foreign powers, by an international conspiracy at the end of World War II, without consideration for the sufferings of the country.

Let us also not forget that throughout world history, the December Revolution in Romania was the first and so far the only anticommunist revolution that went all the way, until it succeeded in removing from the country's body the global cancer of totalitarianism and of the communist dictatorship. Thus, completely removing the yoke of slavery and dishonor that others had put on our shoulders, the Romanian people once again showed that they alone were able to win their freedom and dignity! In the same way, through our own forces we will continue to build a new country, worthy of the girls and boys who gave their lives to save the Romanian nation!

Let us forget our petty passions, interests, and pride, and make the most profound and loftiest sense of the sacrifice of our children, turning Romania into a land of dignity, free and fruitful labor, and of the joy of living.

**Romanian Citizens!**

Whatever our plans for the future, for a happy future, to which we are fully entitled after so many years of misery, we will not succeed in anything if we do not remain united! In unity we will find the strength we need so badly! Our appeal to unity and brotherhood is equally addressed to the Romanians and the national minorities, to all the inhabitants of this land, because we suffered

together, together we toppled the dictatorship, and together we will work for a new country!

First and foremost, we appeal to the gentle, wise Romanian peasant.

You, the peasants of the Romanian land, who have ennobled the soil for thousands of years by your sweat and blood, we expect from you to set a model of wisdom and moderation, and of understanding for the turning point marking the present of the country; you nurse many concerns, fears, worries, and hopes. But none should come before the concern for the land, for a well cultivated, well plowed, and well tended field! Don't confuse agriculture with politics!... Till your fields with the confidence that you are doing it for country and God, for your interests and for the interests of everyone! For your ancestral hearth! To you we owe our distinct ethnic identity! You gave to the world your soul, clothed in Romania's spiritual values, in everything that is most authentic and valuable in our culture!

We then appeal to the Romanian workers! Builders of modern Romania! Romania of the future is inconceivable without dilligent workers in plants and active workers in public life! Use your entire creative potential, raising the quality of our industrial production to European levels as soon as possible! Show your skills and your love for work, for a job well done and well thought out! It will be through you, the Romanian workers, that the Romanian society will begin to heal from the terrible disease of slapdash work!

We put great hopes in the scholars of our nation! Their most sacred duty is to defend the truth! The truth about the world and the truth about the Romanian nation! We appeal to all the scholars, regardless of their political, philosophical, and esthetic beliefs! May you harbor a great and unwavering faith in our people and in the justice that is to be done to this people! Too many lies and too much vile slander has piled on the shoulders of our patient people! The hour of truth has come! Our Romanian truth! Let us utter it with passion, with love, and with thoughts only of the country's welfare!

Our greatest hope is the country's youth! You, who at the fateful hour always sacrificed your utmost for the independence and freedom of the nation! You, who in December raised the banner of Romanian dignity! May you preserve the purity and intransigence of your age and your generous, youthful enthusiasm! Try to grasp the present condition of Romanian society with all its consequences, and work devotedly to contribute to the great and eternal interests of our nation, for which every previous generation before you has made sacrifices! Try to resist the various temptations that test your maturity and your moral strength! Remain faithful to yourselves and, as certain as night follows day, the country's future will be full of light and achievements for our nation and each one of us individually!

We appeal to Romanians outside the country! We appeal to you for the same brotherhood and unity! Here, in the country, we are saddened by any sign of division among Romanians abroad! Ignore the petty disputes that trouble your lives and take to heart the major interests of your country, of our country! Only by living and acting together will Romanians abroad be able to assume their natural responsibilities for the main, general, and eternal interests of our nation. Only united and in brotherhood will you be able to preserve your national identity!

In this context, we want to address a painful appeal to the Romanian Government, and ask it to take every necessary measure to protect the Romanians living in Hungary, who for dozens of years have been subjected to a regime of national deprivation and who now, in the past few weeks, have become the target of threats and attacks that threaten not only their identity as people and Romanians, but also their physical safety...

We want to address our expression of gratitude and complete confidence in the brave soldiers of the country!

VATRA ROMANEASCA, together with the entire Romanian nation, was proud to learn of your pledge to never again allow the country to be sold out to the super powers! We are confident that our soldiers' military training will enable our Army to defend the country's borders against any enemy!

As a mark of respect and out of the sense of duty and sacrifice that all Romanians have toward the country's frontiers, and to honor the day when the country's borders for the first time coincided with the boundaries of the Romanian language, on behalf of its members, and also convinced that it is speaking on behalf of all the Romanians everywhere, VATRA ROMANEASCA demands that 1 December be declared the National Day of the Romanian people and of Romania!

### * Tokes on Interethnic Relations in Romania

*90BA0117A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 May 90 p 2*

[Interview with Laszlo Tokes, honorary chairman of the Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars, by Ion Pavelescu; place and date not given—last two paragraphs are ROMANIA LIBERA conclusion]

[Text] [Pavelescu] Mr. Tokes, the publication PUNTEA, brought out by the Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars [UDMR] clearly stated that you travelled to the United States, Canada, and Czechoslovakia as a representative of the Romanian people. If you will pardon our curiosity, who appointed you and what was the purpose of your travels?

[Tokes] The expression "representative of the Romanian people" must not be taken literally; it was used in a general context. In reality, it did not denote a specific accreditation. Before leaving the country I went to Mr. Ion Iliescu, who received me courteously, but all he did was wish me a good trip. Consequently, my travels were of a private order.

[Pavelescu] As an undesignated ambassador, you were exempt from certain instructions and could discuss a very wide spectrum of issues. Who were the personalities with whom you had talks, and what did you discuss with them—of course in abridged form?

[Tokes] I was received at the highest level; I had talks with President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker. I also met with influential congressmen and senators, and with businessmen. Throughout my trip I met with Romanian and Hungarian emigres. I visited churches and had talks with men of the cloth. As a hero of the Romanian Revolution, I assumed the role of its messenger..." (We of course have our own view of the notion of "Hero of the Romanian Revolution," but we will not commit the sin of denying this status to Mr. Tokes, because in truth, due to a combination of circumstances with their own causes, the pastor of Timisoara triggered the immense popular discontent that brought down like a sand castle the edifice that Nicolae Ceausescu worked for 25 years to consolidate. However, the impression that emerges is that, attributed to a single person, that expression sounds terribly restrictive.)

[Pavelescu] And what was the purpose of your talks?

[Tokes] First of all, I tried to outline the image of a Romania and of a Revolution that is in the process of changing its fate. I described in detail the events of Timisoara. I talked about the role played by our church. Generally speaking, my purpose was to provide information about the Revolution, about the country, and about the Magyar minority. My objective was to secure material aid for my native land. I continually thought of the church institutions. In view of the fact that a special situation is taking shape in the area in which I serve, I pleaded for aid designed to turn the Banat into a special economic area. Among other things along this line, I requested assistance to build a church in Timisoara. My wish is to build there a house of reconciliation that can help us turn the Banat into a model of interethnic coexistence. Along the same line, I intend to contribute to building a reform religious school in Aiud.

[Pavelescu] It seems that the issue of granting the clause arose precisely in this context. Most alarming reports circulated in the country about that. We would like to learn the truth from the horse's mouth!...

[Tokes] There is no secret about my position. In my talks I expressed the view that the clause should be granted only on the condition that the nationalities problem be solved in keeping with the international agreements in force. In point of fact, as is generally known, the United States does predicate the clause on a positive human rights solution and on free elections.... I believe that the rights of the minorities are part and parcel of human rights. I was also thinking of Mrs. Doina Cornea, who is also acting along the same line. We both believe that the current regime should not be extended aid. But we don't want to harm the Romanian people. So I resolutely reject any tendentious comment...

[Pavelescu] Going back to the matter of accreditation, at the congress (e.n.: the Oradea congress) you said that before your departure you received certain suggestions from the UDMR leadership. Is that true?

[Tokes] Yes, at the previous meeting of our union certain criteria were suggested to me as guidelines.

[Pavelescu] So you did have a mandate, although it was unfortunately unilateral. You must admit that, although it is a major factor in Romanian society, the UDMR cannot speak for our entire country. What contributed to our puzzlement and made us suspect you of some partiality was another statement you made at the congress, according to which during the tragic events in Tirgu Mures, while you were still abroad, you kept in touch only with the UDMR, and you took the liberty of talking to people there about what was happening in our country only on the basis of that information. What would you think of a Romanian politician who did the same and reported to the international public opinion about the situation of the Hungarian minority only on the basis of, let's say, data furnished by Vatra Romaneasca?

[Tokes] The truth is that, although I tried to use other sources, too, my main source was the UDMR. If that unilateral source led me to erroneous statements or views, I am ready to retract anything that may be contested.

[Pavelescu] There are more than one thing in that category. To begin with, regarding the nature and structure of the Vatra Romaneasca Union [VRU] itself. After all, what do you know about that organization?

[Tokes] Let me concentrate a moment. I received my first information about VRU in connection with its meeting in Alba Iulia, where people shouted "Down with Tokes!" Later I read some material about it. For example, one Cluj-Napoca newspaper—ADEVARUL IN LIBERATATE—accused us of all kinds of things. One such claim was that we Hungarians, both in Romania and in Hungary, allegedly wanted to once again take over Transylvania. That is a calumny. (Mr. Tokes seemed to us sincerely indignant. Except that we never heard him protest against certain statements that obviously denoted an aspiration to that effect, and at the congress we attended he allowed a position to pass that was rather along the same line.) Vatra also accused us of not wanting rights, but privileges. That's also not true. To some our requests may appear as privileges, but not to us. A third accusation was that we were allegedly separatists. All our actions—particularly our demands concerning schools and language—are viewed by some as nothing but separatism. Remember how the Romanians in Transylvania struggled for their rights. (That is a button that Mr. Tokes should not have touched. We know not only how they struggled, but also how they are struggling now. Is it right that we met with no restriction to get in touch with the UDMR, but that in order to exchange two words with Vatra people in Oradea we had

to act as if they were a quasi-clandestine organization?) I also read other material drafted under Vatra aegis. They did tone down their language after Tirgu Mures. It is my belief that forces from the old structures are hiding behind this organization. Youth sporting V.R. insignia in Tirgu Mures incited peasants in Hodac and Ibanesti to flood the town streets...

[Pavelescu] But you didn't remain in their debt—at the congress you violently attacked Vatra!... Are you aware of the consequences that such a whipping up of national sentiments may have?

[Tokes] We must look for the causes. Vatra made some accusations that seriously undermined the interethnic relations and those between Romania and Hungary, too.

[Pavelescu] But let us first consider the other side of the coin, shall we? As the echo of a more general mood, people at the congress said that only the minorities were responsible for averting a civil war. Once again, if you were a Romanian, what would you feel hearing such things asserted in your own country? Have we sunk so low that our peace and integrity should depend on someone else's goodwill?

[Tokes] That was no doubt an exaggeration. Each side made concessions....

[Pavelescu] We are glad to hear such a statement coming from you. But then we come to one point that cannot be ignored: At one point in your speech, you said that you felt threatened and asked for protection from outside. Have things gone as far as that?

[Tokes] As far as that and even farther. On the walls of my mother-in-law's house in Dej someone wrote insults and stuck a threatening excerpt from an open letter addressed to me and ending with the slogan: "Romania-Transylvania." It is obvious that an anti-Magyar atmosphere has been created. We know, however, that the Romanian people do not harbor hostile feelings. On the other hand, perhaps our suspicions are exaggerated, too.

[Pavelescu] What should we have done when we heard that our Revolution proclaimed you a hero, while you were referring to the Romanian language as the language of oppression?

[Tokes] That was disinformation. My words had been distorted. This was the original text: "Beloved brothers unto Christ," I said, "I have to confess to you that under Ceausescu I had trouble speaking Romanian, because I felt it was the language of an oppressive regime. But since the Revolution I have been speaking Romanian willingly and without being forced by anyone." Only the bit about the oppression was picked out to make people think, "listen to what that ungrateful priest is saying...." Romanian is the language of Eminescu and Cosbuc and has all my respect. Although this may seem unconnected, I also think that equally exaggerated is the talk of the threat that the Magyars of Transylvania allegedly represent for the Romanians. How can 20 million be afraid of 2 million? (We can reassure Mr. Tokes. We never were afraid and we never will be. But we are horrified by unbridled passions. We prefer cooperation to confrontation. We want to conclude on a more relaxed note.)

[Pavelescu] You have lately been frequently speaking on the radio and television. We don't think that stardom is attractive to you, because as a prelate, that may involve a nuance of vanity. But you don't dislike the status of a political and spiritual leader. Is our analysis correct? (He smiles. His handsome brow relaxes, and he answers half seriously, half in jest.)

[Tokes] I am under pressure. I don't have a moment of peace. This is a new problem for me. I have not hesitated to frankly voice my opinions. But there is also another explanation for the attention paid to me. We, the Magyars of Romania, do not have many prominent figures. (Perhaps that is why Mr. Geza Socs felt a need to return to Cluj.) I consequently feel obligated to be continuously doing something for the people.

And with these considerations on the sweet burden of publicity, our interview came to an end. It was high time. Outside, we were told reproachfully that reporters of Tirgu Mures Hungarian radio and television were waiting. Their listeners, too, want to know what Mr. Tokes thinks.

That name has been propelled by the Revolution to the center of public opinion, like others' whom events brought to the limelight. It is up to them whether they will remain mere fleeting apparitions, or will evolve to become genuine representative personalities. Time will once again be the ultimate judge. Since this case concerns a servant of the church, we do not think that Mr. Tokes will mind if we say we hope God will help him pass that test.

## Jovic Addresses Joint Assembly Session

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[Speech by Presidency President Borisav Jovic at a joint session of the two SFRY Assembly chambers in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Comrade delegates: The SFRY Presidency, at its session on 16 May of this year, discussed the current political security situation in the country and decided, in conformity with Article 318 of the Constitution, to acquaint the SFRY Assembly with its assessments, stands, and proposals with the aim to overcome the negative currents and to create the conditions for a successful implementation of the reforms that have been begun.

Our society has decided [Jovic corrects himself] has resolutely decided for economic and political reforms as a way out of the crisis; for further material and social progress; for a democratization of social life, an expansion of the freedoms and rights of the citizens, and a strengthening of the rule of law.

The pluralism of ownership, a market economy, and political pluralism implying a multiparty system and free elections constitute the foundation for the internal democratization of our life and development, as well as for the inclusion of our country in European and world currents. This also constitutes the support for the country's internal and external security, and its existence and prosperity as a community of equal peoples and nationalities.

The Presidency has assessed that encouraging, positive steps have occurred lately after a crisis that extended for several years, a fall in the standard of living, and other aspects of lagging. The processes begun in economic, social, and political reform have entered a significant stage in which they are yielding the first positive results.

The SFRY Presidency has made a proposal for the framing of a new constitution. A short while ago, the SFRY Assembly submitted to public discussion the amendments to the existing SFRY Constitution. These amendments should create the indispensable preconditions for a speedier continuation of the flow of reform. Adjustments of the Criminal Law to the demands of contemporary democratic processes are under way. Other measures and activities are being undertaken so as to contribute to the respect for and expansion of the freedoms and rights of citizens.

Decisive steps have thus been taken that are indispensable so that, within the rule-of-law state, the reforms begun may be carried out through organized and conscious social activities without breaks and convulsions.

On the other hand, the bridling of inflation, the reduction of the foreign debt, the significant increase in exports, the high foreign exchange reserves, and other results open up the prospects and already provide a basis for a way out of the economic crisis. Although this entails a cost and demands sacrifices, one must persist on this course. In the opposite case, all the efforts for a comprehensive reform would be jeopardized.

The positive results in the economic reform so far have been attained under unfavorable internal circumstances and without any specific financial aid from abroad. Their objective value is therefore much greater. Although the material preconditions for making the economy more dynamic are somewhat more favorable in the coming period, the final aims may be achieved only if the reform program is accepted and realized as a whole.

The greatest problems are yet to come, due to difficulties in consolidating the economy and social problems that one has to take into account. One should not underestimate the attempts to dispute the program of economic reform because they are not incidental; they are part of the activities aimed at making the realization of our own plan of reform and the stabilization of social trends impossible.

Along with proposing and adopting measures of economic and political reforms, the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and the other respective bodies have performed the activities of acquainting our foreign partners with the aims of the reform and the currents of its implementation with a view to ensuring foreign support for its implementation and a wide understanding for our complex internal development.

Visible results in realizing the program of economic reforms and orientation toward political reform have considerably influenced the positive assessment abroad. Such assessments of our reforms were given by the OECD, the bodies of the EC and the European Free Trade Association, the IMF, and the World Bank, something that has already yielded certain material support. The world is giving us moral, political, and financial support, constantly pointing to the wider interest and the need for the existence of a united Yugoslavia that, strengthened by these changes, should more successfully join European and world democratic integrational processes.

We must observe our problems and development in the light of positive trends in the world, which are manifested in the orientation toward releasing tension and toward negotiations, particularly in the sphere of disarmament and the removal of the hotbeds of crisis. There is an emphasized tendency to turn the process of economic [Jovic corrects himself] European security into an institutionalized system of wider regional integration in Europe, including the region of Central Europe, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean. Simultaneous with this process, there is the revitalization of the movement of nonaligned countries, the strengthening of the social contents of the state based on the rule of law, and the struggle for human rights is acquiring a universal importance.

All these processes are objectively stimulating the activity of progressive forces both in Europe and in the

world and are on the line of opposing the pressures from conservative forces and solutions. Yugoslavia's contribution in all this is far from being small.

Our economic and political crisis has caused the appearance of some foreign factors with ideas aimed at changing the nature of our authentic social essence and even completely revising our foreign-political tenets and orientations. One of the important phenomena accompanying the aforementioned processes in East Europe, the USSR, and elsewhere in Europe and the world is the revival of nationalism along with the demands for the restoration of outdated and retrograde concepts and, in multinational countries, an increase in separatist tendencies. This cannot continue without influencing events in our country as well.

The Presidency has assessed that, despite the conspicuous results in implementing the economic reform and in democratizing our society, as well as the aforementioned trends in the world, the political-security situation in the country is very complex and difficult. This is, above all, the consequence of the long duration of the economic and political crisis and the delay in implementing reforms. Along with an opposition to changes, there is also a more and more frequent practice of imposing ideas that ignore the jointly adopted orientations and constitutional provisions. This is the main cause of the spreading of a chaotic constitutional and legal situation and an increase in disintegrational processes in the country that threaten to acquire uncontrolled courses and proportions.

Our workers accept the reforms and are prepared to bear the burden of social difficulties provided that there is a clear way out of the crisis. The liquidity of the economy, falling production, and efforts to adapt to new market conditions have oppressed the working people and are affecting the standard of living of their families and the general mood of the people.

In order to survive this inevitable course of adapting our economy without serious social tremors, it is of paramount importance to prevent the total social and political climate from deteriorating further, to avoid political complications that would break even the workers class' threshold of social tolerance.

Comrades, the SFRY Presidency assesses that the most sensitive and the greatest problem for the political stability of the country and for its security is the escalation of nationalism, failure to respect the current SFRY Constitution, and violations of the law. The Presidency particularly points out the increasing negative national homogenization and the aggravation of relations between individual peoples and nationalities, that is, republics and autonomous provinces, as well as an increase in the feeling of being threatened. Violence and clashes motivated by nationalism lead to the introduction of night guards and other forms of self-organization even in the places where interethnic relations have traditionally been good. In this way, the citizens are openly expressing their mistrust in the efficiency of the rule of law.

The rehabilitation of Ustashas, Chetniks, Ballists, White Guardists, and other collaborators of the occupier—even the war criminals—is being increasingly often demanded in public. So-called national reconciliation is being advocated and revanchism heralded. This is being accompanied by malicious claims that the people's liberation struggle was a civil war and not the struggle of progressive and patriotic forces of the people against the occupier and collaborators.

In this connection, the attacks that are calling into question everything that this country has achieved are increasingly growing in numbers. The very existence of the Yugoslav community is also being attacked. The numerous attacks on Tito are done with the same purpose in mind. Everything ranging from the people's liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, 1948 and the clash with the Cominform, to the indisputable material and social results of our development is being disdained.

However, Yugoslavia has not only overcome the backwardness of a pronouncedly agrarian country with a predominantly illiterate population, but it has also developed into a medium-developed industrial country. Achieving manyfold increases in production, employment, productivity, as well as developed and substantive relations with other countries, Yugoslavia is among the upper one- third of countries in the world in terms of economic development. Many countries needed centuries to achieve this. The fact is that despite the current crisis the Yugoslav economy has the objective conditions, with the necessary changes and structural adaptation that is under way, to take part in the modern and the most dynamic and most propulsive world economic trends.

Unsubstantiated, tendentious, and malicious denials of our total development are used to impose a feeling of collective frustration and failure of all our projects in the war and postwar period with the aim of creating conditions for a successful promotion of nationalist, totalitarian, fascist, and other backward platforms. Open attempts are even made to theoretically create this by equating our authentic path to socialism with real socialism in some other countries, and even with Stalinism.

We are facing the resurgence of the forces and programs that suffered both military and political defeats in the people's liberation struggle from which Yugoslavia emerged as a democratic federal state founded on the equality of the peoples and nationalities and in which all peoples attained equal rights, constituted their republican states, and ensured through the federation that their parts are equal constituent elements in other federal units. This is where the historic importance of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions lie.

Is it really necessary under the present conditions for anybody to break up this Yugoslavia and to create his own great and rounded-off national state at the expense

of other peoples, even at the cost of bloody confrontations? Are we not able to agree on how to advance our joint state on an equal basis?

Of course, the right of people to self-determination, including secession, cannot be questioned. After all, the SFRY Presidency proposes that the procedure of a possible secession be legally regulated in case somebody wants to use this right. In deciding on what kind Yugoslavia we want, as well as its external and internal borders, all members of the federation have equal rights and responsibilities and are all obliged to respect the constitutionally determined decision-making procedure.

Today, when we are conducting bitter polemics about our place and role in Europe and the world, everybody should be clear that our peoples will continue to live intermixed and linked in this country, and that there are no arguments according to which the problems of living together could be solved better by dividing Yugoslavia into national states. We are not in favor of unitarianism, nor centralism, but we are for a democratic and rational functioning and successful development of Yugoslavia in the interest and for the benefit of all.

The political and security situation in Kosovo continues to be one of the main generators of internal and outside destabilization of the country. Negative trends in the country also adversely affect our ability to consolidate the situation in Kosovo.

At the joint session of both SFRY Assembly chambers on 7 February of this year, the SFRY Presidency submitted a comprehensive report on the problems in the domestic and foreign policies of the country, which was endorsed by the delegates. The report paid special attention to the situation in Kosovo and expounded on how the problems in Kosovo should be resolved. The report pointed out the direction of activities of the state and other entities in the forthcoming period.

Fully aware that the situation continues to be grave and that many measures are not being implemented or that this is being done slowly, we should not underestimate the fact that some aims are nevertheless being realized. The state of emergency has been lifted. A stop has been put to the most aggressive en-masse forms of violating the public peace and order that used to be characteristic of previous periods. The state units are considerably more efficiently protecting the personal safety and property of all citizens. The measures and activities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia bodies have also contributed to this. Considerable material resources have been allocated for easing the serious financial position of the Kosovo economy, as well as for a better functioning of the state apparatus. We believe that the program that the SFRY Assembly adopted last February can, with necessary supplements that stem from the measures of the economic and political reforms, as well as from the recently adopted program of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on Kosovo, serve as a good basis for the policy that the country should carry out with regard to Kosovo.

However, one must emphasize the almost catastrophic economic situation in Kosovo that is characterized by a long-lasting fall in industrial production. Moreover, because of the total political circumstances in this province, irresponsible attitudes toward social property, numerous work stoppages, a high level of the economy's indebtedness, and unpreparedness for the market economy, it is not realistic to expect quick improvements in the economic situation.

Particularly worrying is the continuation of the homogenization on a national basis and the attempts to internationalize problems in Kosovo, including the active interference by the extreme hostile emigre and other factors from abroad. The acquisition of arms from abroad through illegal channels has become more frequent. This is contributing to the preparations for an armed uprising in order to achieve the well-known separatist aims.

Recent demonstrations and the phenomenon of the alleged poisoning of the Albanian population further aggravated interethnic relations and led to divisions and a break in almost all forms of interethnic communications, even open clashes in some communities. This is threatening to paralyze the work of bodies and institutions in Kosovo.

It is obvious that the measures that have been undertaken in the recent years to normalize the situation in Kosovo have not led to essential improvements. It is clear that this will require a long-term, persistent action that will permanently prevent the realization of separatist aims and intentions.

Regarding the so-called Kosovo alternative: If it cherishes real democratic progress, peace, and national equality, it should clearly dissociate itself from the separatists aims and activities of the Albanian nationalists and the activities of the hostile Albanian emigres and clearly distance itself from the great Albanian dream. Unfortunately, it has not done so by now.

The basic aim of our policy in Kosovo and regarding Kosovo must be the full equality of the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of all other peoples and nationalities who live in the province, and the development of democratic rules for work and life under the full functioning of the rule of law. All those who do not question the autonomy of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo within the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the territorial integrity of the country enjoy, within the political reforms we are implementing, equal opportunities for their participation in political life and power.

Comrade delegates, the overall political situation and the state of security in the country are complex and unstable to such an extent that one can justifiably speak about the most critical stage in the development of the SFRY. The system set by the SFRY Constitution is being seriously endangered. Unilateral changes in the federal system of the country are being imposed and secessions heralded.

The functioning of the federation and its institutions is being endangered. Interethnic relations are being aggravated, while irrational nationalistic and chauvinist passions are appearing. Revanchist threats are spreading, and accounts are being increasingly settled with people of different political persuasion. Anti-Yugoslav and antisocialist feelings are being inflamed. All this is reaching the limits at which widespread outbursts of violence and interethnic clashes may occur, and they may endanger the very existence of Yugoslavia as well as of its constituent parts.

The Presidency believes that the occurrences of violations of activities [Jovic corrects himself] of constitutionality and legality have reached such proportions that they endanger some vital functions of the state and jeopardize the realization of the social reforms that have been begun. Measures and moves that virtually suspend the basic legal act of the country are more and more frequent. This makes room for an unconstitutional situation in the country, entailing unforeseeable political and security consequences.

This makes the work of the state bodies in the federation, the republics, and the autonomous provinces more difficult, and it endangers the equal rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution through the country's entire territory.

The noncompliance with federal laws and other general acts and decisions by federal bodies has negative and dangerous implications, especially in the field of security, national defense, the realization of the unity of the Yugoslav market, and the realization of material and other obligations toward the federation.

Negative consequences have already been caused by the noncompliance with the jointly set policy and the objections to the measures for its implementation, by blockages and other aspects of undermining the unified Yugoslav market and territory ranging from the trade in goods to the movement of people, opposition to the adoption of certain federal laws decisive for the implementation of the reforms, withholding money from the fund for the underdeveloped, calls to desertion and for the disobedience of soldiers and recruits, withdrawal of the militia from the joint detachment of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, announcements of republican armies being formed, the printing of republican money, and the like.

The SFRY Constitutional Court has established that a number of provisions in the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces are not in conformity with the SFRY Constitution. If the opinion of the SFRY Constitutional Court is ignored or if one fails to act according to the conclusion of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, that would in fact mean a unilateral suspension of jointly adopted provisions of the current SFRY Constitution. All of that would make difficult the functioning of the state based on the rule of law and would threaten the legal security of citizens and economic subjects, even more so because under the present conditions, the federal bodies can hardly ensure the practical implementation of the SFRY Assembly stance concerning the obligatory implementation of the SFRY Constitution in such cases.

Such a situation requires us to make our stand toward such phenomena clear, and it requires the SFRY Assembly and other state bodies in the federation, as well as in the republics and autonomous provinces, to carry out specific measures with a view to solving them. Until we change the SFRY Constitution in the way envisioned by the Constitution, we are all obliged to comply with it as the highest legal act of the country.

As is known, all of us in Yugoslavia are in favor of not only pluralism of ownership, but also of political pluralism, including the citizens' right to freely associate in political parties. This significant novelty should have been regulated in a timely and unified way by the SFRY Constitution and the law and in a way that is appropriate to our conditions, also taking into consideration our historical experience, the achievements of the national liberation struggle and the country's development so far, the multinational composition of the population, interrepublican relations, traditions, and so on.

However, this has not been done, so the entire process of multiparty organization has, to a considerable extent, been developing chaotically and in a nonunified and inadequate way by the Federal Constitution and the law.

Some republics have already adopted laws and all others are preparing their own laws on multiparty organizations, applying different criteria. Some political parties have been formed and others are still being created, irrespective of the existence or lack of regulations. In many aspects, this is calling the basic principles of society and the constitutional setup into question, even more so because even the forces of extremist nationalist and chauvinist orientation—that is, even such forces that advocate open national and religious hatred that is, after all, forbidden in all of the countries of the world based on the rule of law—have appeared on the political scene under the disguise of the democratization of political life and of relationships in the country.

Although, as a rule, the programs of political parties do not include any call for the violent destruction of the constitutional setup, changing internal and external borders of the country, fomenting national and religious hatred, and the like—that is, stands that would bar their registration—in their practical activity some of them show unacceptable behavior and unlawful activities.

For example, in their political appearances and campaigns, many individuals and so-called leaders publicly reckon even with the variants of restoring defeated quisling formations or monarchies. Some Yugoslav peoples and republics are denied. By calling for the rearrangement of republican or state borders, one is raising the problem of the status and rights of the peoples who are in a minority in individual republics, and one is even advocating ethnic purging and the like.

Many cases of violations of the law have been registered. People fail to register public party meetings with the respective offices, they display flags without constitutionally prescribed symbols, and they present the crudest untruths and insinuations about the highest state bodies, the Yugoslav People's Army, the security units, and other institutions of the system. In the appearance before voters, there have even been some typically fascist methods of pressure, the phenomena of bribery, manipulating voters, physical attacks against members of other parties, and so on. Clergy of all religions sometimes take part in party activities in a way that is not in conformity with the legal position of religious communities.

What causes particular concern is that state bodies in such cases on the whole fail to react with measures authorized on the basis of the Constitution and the law. This must be overcome because it intensifies the citizens' mistrust of the ability and readiness of the law-governed state to implement the laws and to ensure the protection and security of the citizens, and it objectively encourages such behavior.

Through the moves they are announcing, the nationalist and revanchist cores of some parties are displaying their credentials as an instrument that, by relying on foreign factors, demands changes and the destruction of the SFRY constitutional system, bypassing constitutional procedures. Some party leaderships are announcing programs that are completely in opposition to the SFRY Constitution, in which way they publicly ignore the Constitution and openly do not recognize it.

For the further development of multiparty democracy, it is a very unfavorable circumstance that the majority of the more than 130 political parties formed so far have been constituted on a national basis. In a considerable number of these parties, the basic tone of their program and practical activities is often provided by extreme nationalists. It is also characteristic that the majority of the parties fail to offer broad programs of an economic renaissance of society and that hardly any party has a general Yugoslav outlook.

Such a course of party organization has provided scope for a direct involvement even of extremist emigres and anti-Yugoslav circles abroad, as well as for a growing influence of these on the internal life of the country. Firm links have been and are being established between the leaderships of some political parties and the extremist political emigres, who include war criminals and people who one way or another participated in terrorist activities against our country, its citizens, and representatives by setting up branches abroad, by means of missions and agitation, by collection of funds, by the harmonization of views on the line of the so-called national reconciliation, and the like.

Through their united forces, agitation among our citizens working abroad and among our emigrants has increased. The intensification of national divisions is increasingly felt among them too, and this causes concern by groups with patriotic feelings, leads to the formation of separate national lobbies, and the like.

Thus this is not merely a case of a flagrant violation of the Constitution and the law but also a case of abusing the freedom of political organization and activities, which leads to anarchy instead of leading to a democratic dialogue for the purpose of finding the best solutions. The promotion of retrograde and extremist political views infuses fear and uncertainty in our citizens because it assaults the further existence of Yugoslavia as a common motherland of equal peoples and nationalities.

Although international relations are characterized by positive processes, we also note the strivings of some conservative circles abroad to influence events in Yugoslavia. They try to equate the crisis in East European countries with our crisis, and, proceeding from their ideological aims, they do not even shrink from the possibility of splitting Yugoslavia if their aims could not be attained in another way. On this basis, we sometimes encounter conduct that insults the dignity of our country and does not comply with accepted international norms and practice.

Otherwise, Yugoslavia respects and values the justified interest in the processes of democratization and the state of the human rights in our country because Yugoslavia itself is an active champion of these values that are a part of modern achievements in international relations, with mutual respect for all the internationally accepted obligations.

Bearing in mind the historic development of our country, and the existence of the collaborators' forces during the national liberation war, forces that are now awakening and demanding revenge, great difficulties would be created by the accession to power of extreme right and revanchist forces in Yugoslavia. This could even lead to civil war, in which an opportunity would be created for foreign armed intervention.

Comrades, unless adequate measures are taken to prevent the negative occurrences that I have spoken about, above all through establishing state functions to maintain the rule of law in the SFRY emanating from its Constitution and laws, and through political actions for an accelerated unified regulation of the questions of political and economic reform through constitutional changes, one could—with a high degree of certainty—reckon that the further course of events will accelerate toward the rounding off of national states, accompanied with a further aggravation of interethnic differences and a complete disintegration of the Yugoslav constitutional system and the Yugoslav federation.

Presenting to the SFRY Assembly its assessments and stances on the problems of the functioning of the constitutional system and the security situation in our country, the Presidency proceeds from the premise that it is necessary to ensure that the reform and social changes be

successfully carried out. With all the available constitutional and other legal and legitimate means, the conditions must be provided so that the economic reforms that have been started, political pluralization, democratization, and other social transformations may be implemented in a peaceful and civilized way.

The SFRY Presidency is not preoccupied [nije zaokupljeno] with either an introduction of a state of emergency or the annulment of the elections that have already been held by any members of our federation. On the contrary, it is engaged in speeding up, within its constitutional powers, the economic and social reform and the general course of democratization in our country.

However, there is reason for all of us to be concerned about the occurrences of noncompliance with the current SFRY Constitution and the laws based on it, and at the danger of chaos that would ensue if the rule-of-law state does not function.

It is the work on constitutional changes both in the republics and in the federation, and a democratic accord on the future nature of the Yugoslav community and its constitutional order, that primarily preoccupies the SFRY Presidency because the aims that we are striving for cannot be accomplished in constitutional and legal chaos.

The social aims that we are striving for are well known. They are defined by the guidelines of the economic, constitutional, and political reform. The basic direction of these guidelines emanates from the creation of the conditions for the functioning of a democratic state based on the rule of law, built on the foundations of the political and property pluralism and free-market economy.

The equality of all our peoples and nationalities is our lasting tenet on which alone it is possible to ensure a full affirmation of the rights and freedoms of man and citizen. This is our greatest historical achievement, for which millions of people of this country gave their lives as a guarantee for their living together on an equal footing, and this cannot be jeopardized. The task that is immediately facing us is to constitutionally regulate these relations in our country as coherently and clearly as possible, in the interest of all the peoples and nationalities and citizens. We all are responsible for achieving this in a democratic way and while following the road prescribed by the Constitution, thus creating all the necessary prerequisites for attaining the reforms for which we are striving.

Nobody has the right to willfully and unilaterally undermine the constitutional system in the country under any excuse whatever, because in this way he endangers the position of others and openly works to weaken our independence, integrity, and defense capability, and to undermine the prestige of our country abroad. Even less has anybody the right to work in creating interethnic mistrust and strife among citizens.

Comrade delegates, in conformity with the situation presented, the SFRY Presidency believes that it is essential to undertake the following measures and activities:

First, the intensification of the process of democratization of social relations and the implementation of the economic and social reform demand that not only the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the FEC, but also the appropriate bodies of the republics and autonomous provinces and all the institutions of the system take a clear political and legal stance on the constitutional order, so that they respect and implement the SFRY Constitution and federal laws and prevent and eliminate all the violations of the constitutional system and the law. A consistent application of the principle of constitutionality and legality are an elementary condition of democracy and respect for the principle of the so-called law-governed state and the rule of law [takozvana pravna drzava i vladavina prava].

Second, the SFRY Presidency considers that it is indispensable within the envisioned deadline to adopt the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, whose draft has been submitted to public discussion by the Federal Chamber, because these amendments create the necessary constitutional and legal prerequisites for the implementation of the economic reform, the furthr democratization of the political system, and the implementation of human rights and freedoms.

Third, the SFRY Presidency is of the opinion that political activities on adopting a new SFRY constitution should be intensified, and the process established by the SFRY Constitution should be accelerated. In this respect, it is indispensable to overcome as soon as possible the slowdown in this procedure in those federal units that still have not given their consent on this point, so that the activity of the SFRY Assembly Constitutional Commission on drafting the new constitution can be started immediately after constitutional amendments are adopted and then concluded within a certain period.

According to the assessment of the SFRY Presidency, activities in the republics and autonomous provinces on amending their constitutions should be coordinated with the work on the new SFRY constitution on the basis of the cooperation of all responsible factors in the republics, provinces, and the federation in order to avoid changes in the republican and provincial constitutions being made first, because this would arrange relations within the Yugoslav federation in a unilateral way, without the consent of other republics and autonomous provinces, ignoring the procedure envisioned by the Constitution through somebody's anticipatory dictate.

Fourth, the successful realization of the comprehensive program of economic and political reform is of decisive importance for the stabilization of political relations and the new stage of the country's development. This is why the SFRY Presidency will continue to extend its maximum support to the efforts to establish specific activities in time with a view to perceiving and solving real

problems and obstacles to the successful implementation of all parts of the program, particularly with a view to stopping the decrease in production and to creating conditions for its revival, as well as solving contradictions in the social sphere.

Fifth, it is indispensable, with political and juridical means, to stop the practice in the republics and autonomous provinces of adopting legal and other regulations that are contrary to the SFRY Constitution and the federal law. In this connection, all federal bodies must be more active and accurate in initiating procedures on assessing the constitutionality of such documents. If they are unconstitutional and unlawful, these bodies must ensure compliance with the SFRY Constitution and a strict implementation of federal laws.

Sixth, the SFRY Presidency suggests that the SFRY Assembly discuss as soon as possible the realization of its conclusions on removing the points of conflict between the amendments to the constitutions of republics and autonomous provinces and the SFRY Constitution that have been established by the SFRY Constitutional Court, as well as to propose political and other activities for implementing these conclusions. The FEC and bodies of the federal administration must, as soon as possible, establish the occurrences of a violation of federal laws and other regulations in certain spheres and ask that all those doing so be called to account.

Seventh, the SFRY Presidency will insist that valid federal laws be strictly implemented throughout the entire territory of the SFRY. If some communities are of the opinion that some provisions are not based on the SFRY Constitution, then they should take the matter to the Constitutional Court. If there is an opinion that some provisions in the federal regulations are not adequate or that they are no longer meeting modern needs, one can ask for them to be changed by initiating a regular and, if need be, an urgent legal procedure.

However, responsible bodies must not tolerate the failures to comply with current regulations, the abuse or crude violation of them, as long as they are valid because that opens room to voluntarism, uncontrolled forces, and chaos in society with unforeseeable consequences to the economic and political life of the society and the security of the country. This is one of the essential conditions for establishing a democratic state based on the rule of law.

Eighth, the SFRY Presidency assesses the attempts at threatening the sovereignty and integrity of Yugoslavia and at changing relations established by the SFRY Constitution through one-sided decisions and ignoring the procedure established by the SFRY Constitution as being unacceptable, very harmful, and having unforeseeable consequences. Therefore, within the framework of its constitutional prerequisites and responsibilities, the SFRY Presidency will insist and demand that the responsible bodies prevent such attempts. The SFRY Presidency is of the opinion that all the modalities of changing the SFRY Constitution are open to discussion but that any new constitutional provisions may be adopted solely according to the procedure envisioned by the Constitution. This implies that one should first coordinate views about the changes to the SFRY Constitution and then, in conformity with that, change and adopt the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces.

Ninth, in order to get out of the obvious difficulties and deadlocks in resolving the key problems of the constitutional future of the country, a new political initiative is necessary. The SFRY Presidency will assume this initiative. It will organize political discussions with republican leaderships so as to jointly search for and harmonize the possible proposals and solutions for the future mutual relations in Yugoslavia and for Yugoslavia's system with the aim of facilitating the work of the appropriate Assembly bodies.

Tenth, the new SFRY Constitution—or a special law based on the current SFRY Constitution, if so required by political relations in the country—should regulate the right of the people to self-determination, including the right to secession, so as to precisely regulate all the questions in connection with a possible bid for secession by a federal unit from the SFRY, such as the conditions for raising the initiative, the procedure, the way citizens decide, the settlement of mutual material and other relations, and so forth.

Eleventh, with the aim of further affirming the Constitutional Court's protection of constitutional rights and human rights, the SFRY Presidency considers that it is indispensable, through appropriate constitutional provisions—already contained in the amendments to the current SFRY Constitution—to ensure the even more efficacious work of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, appropriate to the time and the situation, and thus to contribute to the full protection of constitutionality and legality.

Until the respective constitutional changes are adopted, we should examine the possibility of ensuring—by updating [inoviranje] the rules of procedure —that the procedure of decision making in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia is made more efficient, and especially that the court acts in time and properly in cases when the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the social system set by the SFRY Constitution are put in jeopardy by regulations.

Twelfth, the SFRY Presidency believes that one should examine as soon as possible the present experience in multiparty organization in our country and take steps to regulate this matter with the SFRY Constitution and the law as soon as possible and to prevent occurrences of unconstitutional and unlawful acts and conduct. Legal provisions must ensure the full openness of activities and the sources and allocations of funds for financing political parties, and, especially, they must prevent the illegal acquisition of funds from foreign elements.

Thirteenth, the political membership of parties cannot be a basis for usurping and endangering any rights of citizens determined by the Constitution and the law or for any revanchism by anybody against those who do not think politically alike. Likewise, replacements of elected or appointed officials in the federation cannot be carried out, bypassing the procedure set by the Constitution and the law, considering that it is necessary to ensure the stability and continuity of the work of the federal bodies in the very important period that is ahead of us.

Comrades, the SFRY Presidency has decided, in conformity with its constitutional obligations and responsibilities, to come to the SFRY Assembly and the Yugoslav public and to request that the stated measures and activities be urgently undertaken so as to speed up the overall democratic processes in society, to ensure the success of the reforms started, and to protect the sovereign rights of the citizens, the peoples, and nationalities.

We are convinced that by accepting the Presidency's proposals, the necessary social ambience will be created so that one may begin to solve the open questions in an organized, rational, and democratic way, which is the only way possible in our multinational community. In this sense, it is necessary that the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, the FEC, the respective bodies in the republics and provinces, and all others—in keeping with their responsibilities—should prepare operative, specific programs of activities for the implementation of these conclusions and stands.

In the name of the SFRY Presidency, I propose that you adopt the assessments, conclusions, and stances presented.

Thank you. [applause]

### Debate in Assembly

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—The collective head of state is preoccupied neither with introducing a state of emergency nor with annulling the elections already held in any federal unit.

SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic used these words in the Yugoslav Assembly on 28 May to remove all speculation about hard-line (?intentions) of the collective state leadership. [passage omitted]

The session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, presided over by Yugoslav Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic, was attended by members of the state Presidency, members of the federal government led by Ante Markovic, as well as representatives of federation's highest bodies and organizations.

After Jovic's address, about 30 delegates indicated their desire to speak at the joint Assembly session. The first speakers supported the assessments and stances of the collective head of state.

Bogdana Glumac Levakov spoke about the activities of the Federal Chamber in implementing two reforms and the legislative activity of this Assembly chamber. The partial changes to the Constitution, which should be adopted within the envisioned time frames, must be carried out in conjunction with the broadest democratic public debate so that all possible blockades might be avoided. The growth in nationalism, she said, seriously brings into question the orientation toward reform and conformity with European developments.

Dragi Rakcevic devoted most of his words to the political situation in the country, which is characterized by the growth in nationalism and nationalistic madness. The ghosts of history are appearing in a new guise, Rakcevic said, advocating Yugoslavia as a federal community.

Tomislav Bandin spoke about the necessity of respecting the Constitution and the law, quoting Cicero twice: "We are all slaves of the law in order to be freed," and "equal people associate in the easiest way."

The SFRY Constitution is the highest legal enactment of the country, and any violation of it is the source of new conflicts in society, Bandin said. The consequences of this conflict are tragic; they undermine the foundations of Yugoslavia and threaten its survival. It must be finally stated in public that Yugoslavia is not a political squaring of the circle but a federal community. Narrow-minded nationalism, according to him, threatens the breakup of Yugoslavia. Bandin advocated the removal of barriers to the adoption of the new constitution.

Branislava Trivic supported the efforts of Yugoslavia to become involved in European integration processes, but she warned that Europe has no interest in accepting us as we are now—divided and engaged in wrangling. Opposing the belittling of everything that has been achieved in development up until now, and analyzing the territorial claims on Bosnia-Hercegovina and the negation of the Muslim nation, she stressed that an enormous number of citizens of this republic want to live together in their Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia. [passage omitted in which Trivic supports SFRY Presidency's proposal that a dialogue on further relations in Yugoslavia should begin as soon as possible]

Stressing that the situation in Kosovo is still a very complex one, Iljaz Kurtesi said that the abolition of the SFRY Presidency's measures had been met with a positive response but that hardly anything has been done to resolve the province's true problems. The national divisions continue, the economy is about to collapse, while the offices and organizations in Kosovo are still dealing with the minor issues rather than the essential ones.

In spite of the awareness that dialogue is needed, the solutions are still being sought in the use of force while the cases of the official bodies overstepping their responsibilities, which according to Kurtesi did occur, only make the overall stabilization of the situation in the province even more difficult. He assessed that the takeover of the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs' operation and, as he put it, the sacking of militiamen of mostly Albanian nationality, might bring about far-reaching negative consequences. The Serbian Presidency's decisions should be reviewed, Kurtesi maintained, adding that not only have they derogated the functions of the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs but brought into question the competences of the provincial Assembly and Executive Council.

Pointing out that such measures breed mistrust among the people, Kurtesi went on to say that these days threats are being aired that the work of the judiciary is to be taken over, something that in his opinion contravenes the "proclaimed" independence of this state "segment."

The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, but also of members of other nationalities—which is one of the key problems—is still going on, Kurtesi said and called for new methods and solutions in stabilizing the situation in the province. The whole country needs the functioning of the law-governing state, implying also a consistent implementation of the Constitution and laws, whereas in Kosovo this is of paramount importance, he concluded.

There is a growing concern about tendencies among certain forces to disunite and destroy Yugoslavia, Ljiljana Stanisic said, and went on to stress that the country would have to fight those who strove toward a weak and disunited Yugoslavia and who were using the guise of pluralism to create national parties as instruments for attacking Yugoslavia.

We in Bosnia-Hercegovina are against those who wish to see the country disintegrate and also against those who advocate the disintegration of our republic. The message from Bosnia-Hercegovina is: We will defend the borders of both Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, but at the same time we are aware of the fact that in the present situation passions must be allayed, common sense used and agreements reached, Ljiljana Stanisic stressed.

Separatist and nationalist tendencies are on the increase, thus providing a challenge to all those who advocate democracy in Yugoslavia. In view of this, Mojse Kostic said, the state Presidency has to bear great responsibility. I cannot, however, call for unity in the country, while at the same time there is no unity in its ranks.

Differences in Yugoslavia over Kosovo and the roads to democracy must be overcome by negotiations and not by further fomenting nationalism. [passage omitted in which Kostic says there is no room for asymmetry in either federation or confederation]

Dusan Popovski spoke about the attacks on the Macedonian nation and its integrity, both abroad and in the country. He called on Yugoslav Assembly delegates to resist any form of the negation of his nation and proposed that the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the federal government, and the Yugoslav Presidency engage in settling relations with neighboring countries, thinking here, above all, of Greece.

Speaking about the present state and implementation of the reforms, Popovski said that results have been underestimated and that this weakens cohesion in our society, in other words, that it is a pity that the course of reform is not also linked to political change. He advocated dialogue with everyone about everything, and especially with those political forces that have been elected in a legal way in some republics. [passage omitted including indistinct passages in which Dr. Milos Aleksic supports Jovic's stances and says that the Presidency is right to highlight the escalation of nationalism and the failure to respect the Constitution]

The 28 May speech made by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic does not differ from his inaugural address made on 15 May, Ante Beneti said. True, at one stage he stressed on 28 May that the Presidency is preoccupied with neither introducing the state of emergency nor annulling the already held elections in some members of the federation. However, I do not understand, he stressed, what is meant by the statement that the Presidency will, within the framework of its constitutional powers and responsibilities, insist and demand that responsible bodies fend off attempts at jeopardizing Yugoslavia's sovereignty and integrity and at changing constitutionally set relations.

What prompted the Presidency to propose these measures precisely now, after the multiparty elections in the Socialist Republics [SR] of Croatia and Slovenia, Beneti asked. He recalled that the SR of Croatia adopted amendments to its Constitution, and in doing so created legal grounds for establishing as a matter of law the freedom and right to political organization. Legal acts were endorsed on the basis of the Constitution, and this provided the legal basis for elections, in which the will of the people was expressed, to be held. The election results were acknowledged by all parties in the Croatian Republic, hence, we should pay heed to legal institutions and decisions to be made by them, Beneti stressed.

Should we now, he continued, raise the issue of why some republics proceeded more swiftly with constitutional changes than the federation? Should all this be questioned? Should life be stopped until changes to the federal Constitution are made?

Jusuf Alagic advocated the overcoming of the present divisions and quarrels, pointing out that all those who believe that alone, without Yugoslavia, they will live better are deceiving themselves. Our future is in our life together, the equality of all parts of Yugoslavia and its citizens, and in democracy. This is why it is important to continue the process of reform and hold democratic,

multiparty and secret elections in those republics, too, which have still not completed this.

Alagic drew attention to the increasingly frequent attacks on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the negation of its statehood and the Muslim nation, and the usurpation of its territory and attempts to destabilize interethnic relations in this republic. [passage omitted in which Z. Martinovic says each nation should combat nationalism in its own ranks]

Reviewing some parts of the speech, Bozo Kovac said that the Yugoslav Presidency talks about a long-lasting economic and political crisis, and, at the same time, about the so-called authentic Yugoslav social entity. These two thesis are in contradiction. I believe, Kovac said, that it is nearer the truth that the identity crisis is in evidence in Yugoslavia. We do not know who we are, and—even more—what we are not and what we do not want to be.

In regard to the part of the speech presenting different theses about secession, Kovac cited the example of Lithuania and said that Yugoslav republics were not annexed but that they have the sovereign right to their views about how the joint state should be constituted, of course, while respecting interests of other constituent parts.

Kovac proposed that the Yugoslav Assembly appeal to republican and provincial assemblies to adopt, as soon as possible, constitutional amendments paving the way for direct parliamentary elections and an appropriate constitution of assemblies at all levels, because we want to be in harmony with life and not to mold life to fit the Constitution.

Jusuf Keljmendi stressed that, according to some notions, all evil in Yugoslavia arises from the fact that Albanians live in it, because they are its citizens, because they seek to have their own democratic rights, and because they participated in the national liberation struggle and the forming of Yugoslavia in 1945. [passage omitted in which Radivoje Scekic says he favors a socialist, federal, and democratic Yugoslavia and supports the Presidency's assessments]

I do not agree with those who present and dramatize the political situation in the country as if it is on the verge of a civil war. To pass measures to reflect such views could lead Yugoslavia into chaos with unforeseen consequences, Joze Susmelj said.

Standpoints and measures adopted by the Slovene Assembly through its sovereign representatives have often been on trial here in the Federal Chamber.

In light of the dynamic processes under way in Europe, we must embark on work to reshape the Yugoslav integrational system on new foundations. This is a difficult and responsible task. If we wish and if it is our common desire to preserve Yugoslavia as a better-quality entity, representatives of all republics must get together and, without mutual accusations and slangering, start talking about their future relations and the shape of the future state. This should be done without prior commitment to Yugoslavdom but on the basis of mutual agreements, Susmelj stressed. [passage omitted in which Susmelj reiterates Slovene commitment to confederal system]

In Susmelj's view, the republics should adopt their own constitutions that would outline the content and sovereignty. Later, an agreement could be reached on interrepublic relations and the form of common existence within one state, Joze Susmelj said in conclusion. [passage omitted in which Jovan Kandic, the first speaker in the afternoon part of the session, supports Jovic's intention to keep the country together]

The afternoon session chairwoman, Suada Muminagic, informed the meeting participants that 29 delegates are still waiting to take to the floor (thus far, 18 have spoken) and that discussions should thus be "speeded up."

She proposed that a working group of delegates from all federal units be formed. The group would prepare a proposal of the Assembly conclusions about the 28 May speech by Jovic. Delegates from Slovenia and Croatia were of the view that, however, conclusions should not be adopted, and if they are to be made then they would have to consult their assemblies. Aleksandar Kalmar and Blagoje Siljanoski supported this view because, according to them, the SFRY Presidency's stances and proposed measures are quite clear.

Suada Muminagic afterward proposed that appropriate solutions be offered in the course of the session.

Recalling the creation and development of autonomous provinces, Riza Aljaj assessed that previous changes to the Serbian Constitution reduced autonomous provinces to territorial-cultural autonomies, which is in contradiction with the norms of the SFRY Constitution in force. These changes were brought about under the banner that the autonomous provinces cannot have the attribute of statehood. But, Aljaj went on, if that attribute means that nationalities can decide about their destiny autonomously, then the Albanian nationality wants that right, even if it is called statehood. They want to decide autonomously about their education, alphabet, and flag, and want to elect their representatives, as well as to decide about the system in Yugoslavia with others as an equal partner.

Only full autonomy for Kosovo within Serbia and Yugoslavia can ensure permanent stability, peace, and prosperity for all citizens in the province, Aljaj stressed. Therefore, the status of socialist autonomous provinces as constituent elements of the federation is the only guarantee for equality of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. He also assessed that changes to the status of autonomous provinces as envisioned by the new Yugoslav and Serbian constitutions are unacceptable because they proceed from an outmoded conception.

The fact that Albanians are represented in federal bodies through Serbia, according to Aljaj, is making them into second-rate citizens. [passage omitted in which Desimir Jovanovic says he cannot accept the idea of Yugoslavia as a confederation]

Aleksandar Kalmar suggested that it should be decided at the federal level what was the minimum of togetherness necessary for Yugoslavia's existence. In his view, this togetherness should be manifested in common defense of the country's sovereignty, foreign policy, single-market, credit, monetary and fiscal policy, and foreign economic relations. [passage omitted in which Ali Zanuni criticizes as hasty the way in which large systems are being integrated; Todor Popovic approves of the current course; and Aleksandar Jovanovic wants the work on a new constitution speeded up and warns of possible constitutional crisis if republican constitutions are adopted before the federal one]

Vitomir Bolkovic suggested that the measures put forward today should be sent to all the republics and provinces for debate after which they would be sent back to the Yugoslav Assembly where, in a consensus, rules of conduct would be agreed upon. This should be done peacefully and with a large amount of common sense and with prior agreement on common points; the status quo for external and internal borders; basic rights for citizens; and a single economic, monetary, credit and fiscal system.

Democracy is in the people and stems from it. Sovereignty, therefore, rests with nations and nationalities rather than with the federation, Natan Bernot said. In view of this, the state Presidency's conclusions are contradictory. The chronology of constitutional changes should be such that the Federal Constitution is adopted after the republics have passed their own. This principle is the foundation of democracy, he said.

Speaking about the SFRY Presidency's standpoints and conclusions, Bernot said that Slovenia will take note of them although, for delegates from this republic, they are unnecessary. Slovenia is not trying to impose anything on anyone and will use the positive experience of others. Perhaps, Bernot said, others will find our experience useful. [passage omitted in which Husein Hodzic warns that Europe does not want a hatred-ridden Yugoslavia]

This assembly cannot allow any further violations of the Federal Constitution, Mirko Radulovic said. On the other hand, he said, the country's most important legal document must be changed and improved upon. It therefore comes as a surprise that some federal units have rejected to offer proposals for a new constitution to their assemblies for discussion. [passage omitted in which Miodrag Vukotic insists that the people should be given an opportunity to decide on Yugoslavia's future]

Reviewing some claims and assessments from the SFRY Presidency president's speech about a contradiction between the SFRY Constitution and amendments to republican and provincial constitutions, Gojmir Komar said that the assessment that amendments contravening the SFRY Constitution are implemented consistently in Slovenia is wrong. The majority of constitutional norms cannot be implemented directly but require appropriate laws regulating their implementation.

The only so-called controversial amendment is the one relating to the proclamation of an emergency situation in Slovenia and determining appropriate emergency measures, Komar said.

In regard to the proposed measures and activities presented today, Komar said that he is not convinced that they are appropriate to the specified problems, above all, because they encroach upon the rights of nations and nationalities. [passage omitted in which Budimir Kosutic proposes a nationwide referendum through which people will say what kind of Yugoslavia they want; Fehmi Nalbani reiterates that the new Serbian Constitution greatly narrowed down the responsibilities of autonomous provinces; Zdravko Zabukovec thinks that improved living standards would reduce political tensions; Viktorija Potocnik asks whether the SFRY Presidency knew about the decision to disarm Territorial Defense forces; Hisen Ramadani says he wants Serbia and Yugoslavia to guarantee Kosovo its autonomy; Mirjana Kuljic-Saranovic calls for a Federal Executive Council representative to clarify announcements about the formation of a new federal party]

Ranko Cetkovic, Dragoljub Jakic, and Stevan Petrov also took part in the debate. They supported the standpoints and proposed measures of the SFRY Presidency as outlined by President Borisav Jovic in his introductory speech.

Milivoj Jurinjak asked why the Presidency though it necessary to convene an urgent session of the Assembly. Could the coming constituent session of the Croatian Assembly be the reason?—Jurinjak asked. He proposed the formation of a working group with the task of drawing up proposed conclusions that would be submitted to the federal Assembly. He called for urgent efforts to adopt a new constitution and a law on the multiparty system. In conclusion, Jurinjak echoed the view of a number of Croatian delegates when he said that the proposed measures would not help calm the situation in the country and that the Presidency should enter into political dialogue with federal units about ways of resolving the existing situation.

In view of the fact that although today's debate went on for 10 hours there were about a dozen delegates still left to speak, a decision was made to interrupt the session this evening and to resume it on 29 May when the delegates will decide whether to adopt Assembly conclusions on the SFRY Presidency's views and standpoints on the political-security situation in the country.

### No Agreement at Assembly

*LD2805193390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—Agreement was not reached, even after almost one hour of polemics, on how and when to bring to a close the 28 May joint session of the two Assembly chambers, devoted to the current political situation in the country.

Suada Muminagic, presiding, proposed that a working group composed of delegates from all the republics and provinces be formed that would draw up draft conclusions in connection with the assessments and stances of the collective head of state, which were set out today at the session of both Assembly chambers by President Borisav Jovic.

The delegates from Slovenia and Croatia believe that no conclusions of the Yugoslav Assembly should be adopted today.

The representatives of these republics announced that they could not take part in the adoption of Assembly conclusions without consulting their multiparty assemblies. Gojmir Kalmar made it quite clear that the Slovene delegation in the federal parliament cannot accept some assessments and stances proposed in Jovic's address. Luka Brocilo, on behalf of the Croatian delegates, requested that the new multiparty [Croatian] Assembly first state its views on the proposals of the collective head of state.

### Joint Session Resumes

*LD2905090290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0742 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—The joint session of both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly was resumed in Belgrade on 29 May with a debate on the political-security situation in the country.

The speech made by Presidency President Borisav Jovic, which he delivered on 28 May in the name of the collective head of state, serves as the basis for the Assembly debate.

### Elections By End of Year

*AU2905111390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 May 90*

[Report by correspondent Milorad Jovic from the joint session of the Assembly Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, which is discussing the country's political-security situation—recorded]

[Text] [Milorad Jovic] SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic has just informed the delegates that a conclusion acceptable to everybody is being prepared now and that the proposal of its text will be presented in about 15 minutes.

The debate has been concluded. At the end of the debate, SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic took the floor in order to, as he put it, clear up some points that have been raised during the session. Let us hear part of his speech.

[Borisav Jovic] I do not believe that there is anybody against the proposal that everybody be given the legal-juridical possibility [resenje] of seceding if no acceptable solution for a joint life is found through talks. The way to do this is the matter of the law that will be proposed to the Assembly, which will then thoroughly discuss it and decide about it.

I do not see any (?difference) between multiparty organization and free multiparty elections. I am firmly convinced that we will carry out multiparty elections throughout the entire country by the end of the year in an organized way and simultaneously, and on the basis of the law we are going to adopt. This by no means calls into question the elections already carried out in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia, or the legitimacy and legality of the newly elected leaderships.

Let us be patient and cooperate. If we want to change the SFRY Constitution, we should fight for our stands and convictions and win in a democratic way if we can. The violations of the Constitution mean usurping the rights of others, and nobody has the right to do so.

We are all aware of the process we have before us and the changes we are striving for, and it is our responsibility to carry them out in a democratic way and without risking legal chaos. It should be in everybody's interest.

If we want cooperation and do not want stands to be imposed, then the need for parallel and coordinated work on the republican constitutions and the SFRY Constitution can be easily understood. The problem does not lie in which constitution will be the first one adopted, but the problem is that every one that is adopted should be coordinated with the others. The SFRY Presidency has its responsibility for the situation in the country, and it will carry out its responsibility (?consistently).

As regards the course of the measures and activities that we presented to the SFRY Assembly, in the coming period the Presidency will do everything in its power to have them carried out.

### Presidency Adopts Proposals on Situation

*LD2905185590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—At a session held on 29 May, and presided over by President Borisav

Jovic, the SFRY Presidency adopted a plan of its activities in carrying out tasks outlined in its views, standpoints, and proposals presented to the SFRY Assembly on 28 May concerning the current political and security situation in the country.

The Presidency also agreed on activities to prepare for political talks with the leaderships of the republics and autonomous provinces about the country's future constitutional system, the pace of these activities, and ways to execute tasks in relation to federal bodies.

The SFRY Presidency also considered a report by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on the secretariat's measures designed to tighten security concerning weapons belonging to Territorial Defense personnel throughout Yugoslavia.

The Presidency noted that the measures fell under the responsibility of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and related exclusively to the ways of protecting, safeguarding, and storing Territorial Defense weapons and military equipment. They are designed to heighten security and ensure proper technical maintenance.

The measures have in no way changed or limited the rights and powers of Territorial Defense commands and staff. There is no reason why, after appropriate conditions have been created to ensure safe storage and protection, the weapons and military equipment should not be returned to where they were stored previously. There are no grounds for recent speculations about political motives behind these measures, which were taken in accordance with legally envisioned activities for the Armed Forces.

The SFRY Presidency on 29 May also adopted conclusions on the need to improve its work on petitions and complaints. A decision was also passed to set up a special human rights commission under the auspices of the SFRY Presidency.

The Presidency also passed a decision to pardon a large number of people.

### Slovene, SFRY Presidency Discuss Weapons

*AU2905200490 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 May 90 p 2*

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The Republic of Slovenia Presidency has announced that at its request, talks on the transfer of Territorial Defense weapons were held in the SFRY Presidency on 22 Mday. Those taking part were SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic; SFRY Presidency member Janez Drnovsek; Milan Kucan, Presidency president of the Republic of Slovenia; Dusan Plut, Presidency member of the Republic of Slovenia; and Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense. The representatives of Slovenia informed the others about the problems that arose because of the removal of weapons in our republic and told them that the republican Presidency will pursue the responsibility of those guilty. It was again confirmed in the talk that the order was issued to the Armed Forces of the Yugoslav People's Army exclusively for the sake of a more appropriate guarding of the arms stores, that the implementation of the order in Slovenia was in the hands of the republican staff of the Territorial Defense, that the weapons temporarily moved remain the property of the Territorial Defense, and that they will be returned to those stores that can be suitably guarded.

### Croatian Presidency on Territorial Weapons

*AU2905211490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 90 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "There Is No Reason for Alarm"]

[Text] Zagreb—It has been announced that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia at its session yesterday discussed the question of the removal of the Territorial Defense weapons to Yugoslav People's Army depots.

It was noted that the Presidency was not informed as it should have been in conformity with its powers, which is to say the explicit powers of the republic in organizing and leading the Territorial Defense. The Presidency considers that under such circumstances, one can understand the reaction and the complaints among the republic's people.

Stipe Suvar, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, informed the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia that the SFRY Presidency decided to examine, at its session on 29 May, a report by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on the measures taken on the territory of the entire country for the sake of better protecting the Territorial Defense weapons. According to everything that has come to its notice, the SFRY Presidency stresses that there is no reason for alarm, because the weapons have in this way not been removed from the Territorial Defense.

At its session, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia was informed of the measures taken by the Croatian Executive Council in connection with the church celebrations of Holy Salvation on 24 May in the village of Cetina, Knin Commune, and Virovitica. It assessed that the measures taken were suitable to the nature of the religious celebrations and in the interest of preserving peace and order, personal safety of citizens, good human and interethnic relations, which all should be a constant common care and responsibility of all the organs and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

### Slovene Premier Tells Press of Future Plans

*LD2905220890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 29 May 90*

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 29 May (TANJUG)—Over 40 foreign and 30 Yugoslav journalists had a meeting this

afternoon with Slovene Premier Lojze Peterle, and all three vice premiers and four government members answered questions, too.

The journalists were interested in the contacts that Peterle recently had with our neighbors and in the dimensions of Slovene foreign policy. Peterle said that he had made only two visits so far, an unofficial one to Carinthia and the other to Bavaria.

Speaking about the guidelines in the foreign political area, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel said the the government will present its program in one month's time, at the latest.

In the program, we have stressed the reorientation to the policy of neutrality. In the future, Slovenia will be pursuing a more independent policy. Rupel added that in June Slovenia will open a Ljubljana Bank branch in Brussels, which also will be an information center, and something will open in Munich as well. Rupel also told journalists that he will propose new names for consuls in Trieste and Celovec (Klagenfurt). The proposal by our committee for international cooperation has been put through the channels to appoint Dr. Hubert Pozarnik ( Slovene Democratic Union president) as the consul in Celovec. [passage omitted]

The foreign affairs minister was asked, among other things, whether he sees any similarity between the Baltic states and Slovenia. Rupel said that there are some similarities, but there are differences, too. Slovenia will not embark on the same road as the Baltic republicse, stressed Rupel, adding that next month an Estonian delegation will visit Slovenia, and that they have contacts with other Baltic republics as well.

We will advocate the concept of a "soft confederation," a confederation that is linked together by relatively few things that we share, said Peterle. In his view, negotiations are required to achieve this, and the issue is tied up with the pace of democratization in Yugoslavia.

Slovenia does not want to wait too long for the whole of Yugoslavia to turn democratic because this is dangerous for Slovenia from the economic point of view. We would like Yugoslavia as a whole to fulfill the conditions for the entry into Europe. If this does not proceed at an adequate pace, added Peterle, we will see to it that Slovenia starts along this road as an independent state.

We are not thinking about introducing a separate currency, said Peterle, but we do have this idea in reserve in case Slovenia must go its own way. We are also supporting the demand for a national army, and this army can in various ways be linked up with other confederal units. In this respect, according to Peterle, several variants exist and the basis is one's own army. As far as a referendum is concerned, stressed Peterle, we will certainly use it if we are to make a decision on the Slovene state system.

Peterle went on to speak of the Italians in Slovenia and the Slovenes in Italy. Minorities are never protected enough, he observed, adding that he will strive to ensure that Italian and Hungarian national communities in Slovenia have as many rights as possible, and that within 10 days at the latest he will invite representatives of the Italian nationality to present us with the issues that have to be resolved.

Education Minister Dr. Peter Vencelj stressed during the news conference that tomorrow he will propose to the Ljubljana University rector that its name be changed. At the moment, the university is called Edvard Kardelj University. He will also suggest that the Faculty of Theology be incorporated into the university again. The new education minister also announced changes in the names of other schools.

### Anti-Tito Demonstration Held in Belgrade

*AU2505143390 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] The city of Belgrade has arranged no events to mark 25 May this time, although it was one of the most diligent and enthusiastic advocates and organizers of events for Tito's pioneers and the Yugoslav youth all the years after the war. What is more: The capital of the country has suddenly changed its color and also its direction, it seems.

Bojan Veselinovic, our Belgrade correspondent, has learned that a protest meeting against the 25 May Youth Day began in front of the SFRY Assembly about 30 minutes ago. The organizers are the same as on 4 May, when the People's Party, the Human Rights Protection Movement, the Yugoslavia Alliance, and branches of the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party convened a rally that was accompanied by sharp and insulting attacks on the late President Tito.

Our correspondent has learned that the SFRY Assembly building is protected by numerous members of Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs units.

### LCY Congress Preparation Committee Named

*LD2605183290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 26 May 90*

[Summary] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG)—The following have been elected as members of the Committee for the Preparation of the Congress of Democratic and Program Renewal of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]:

—from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC: Ivan Brigic; Dzevad Tasic; and Nijaz Durakovic;
—from the Montenegrin LC: Miroslav Ivanovic; Miodrag Vukovic; and Miomir Bulativic;
—from the Serbian LC: Rados Smiljkovic; Petar Skundric; and Bogdan Trifunovic;
—from the Kosovo LC: Jagos Zelenovic and Rahman Morina;
—From the Vojvodina LC: Predrag Jereminov and Nedeljko Sipovac;

—from the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army: Simeon Buncic and Bozidar Grubisic.

### Committee for Preparing Renewal Congress Meets

*LD2605174790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 26 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG)—Immediately after the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, the first working session of the Committee for the Preparation of the Congress of Democratic and Program Renewal was held. Miroslav Ivanovic, 35-year-old lawyer from Budva and Budva LC Municipal Committee president, was elected its chairman.

Deputy secretaries to the chairman will be elected at the next session of the committee, bearing in mind the fact that the remaining LCY parts will also decide on the form of participation in the work of the Committee for Preparation of the Renewal Congress and when the committee work will be distributed. The second session of the committee will be held on 31 May.

In a short statement, the newly elected committee chairman, Miroslav Ivanovic, said that the main task of the committee would be the preparation of a new program and the LCY statute that should be adopted by the congress at the end of September. Bearing in mind the short period in which the forthcoming congress should be prepared, the newly elected committee, which will also perform the minimal functions of a temporary LCY leadership, is faced with a tremendous amount of work in preparing the congress, which is to mark the creation of a new organization of the Yugoslav left-wing forces on a new democratic bases. According to Ivanovic, the work of the committee will be open to public.

### Renewal Chairman Seeks 'Unity in Diversity'

*AU2605211690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 May 90*

[Interview with Miroslav Ivanovic, chairman of the committee for the preparation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's Congress of Democratic and Program Renewal, by Zivojin Jerotijevic and Momcilo Boskovic in Belgrade on 26 May—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Ivanovic, (?could you tell us) what will be the official [words indistinct].

[Ivanovic] Only now, with the conclusion of the 14th congress, the practical conditions have been created with the formation of the new committee for the creation of new conditions so that the 15th congress will literally be a congress of renewal and will actually be one.

(?Our first task) will probably be the work on drafting a statute, a new statute, the statute of a modern, contemporary, democratic party. I believe that we will accomplish this and that we will succeed in finding the threat that binds us with the Leagues of Communists in other republics and provinces, or rather other republics, which were not here today, and that we will try to achieve unity in diversity.

[Correspondent] Is the time until the end of September sufficient for such a serious work?

[Ivanovic] Indeed it is serious. Even after this first session of the committee, I have gained the impression that it will be extremely difficult. I am not sure, but (?we will try). This is our (?obligation).

[Correspondent] [question indistinct]

[Ivanovic] We have no deputy at the moment, but he will probably be known at the next session that has been convened for 31 May.

[Correspondent] Comrade Ivanovic, tell us something else. It is envisioned that the committee should perform the function, at least a minimum function, of a provisional leadership. What in fact [words indistinct].

[Ivanovic] [Words indistinct] the final stand of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and the working community in the LCY is that this idling be overcome, in the way that certain powers enjoyed by the LCY Presidium earlier are now ceded to the committee. This has been done at the congress.

[Correspondent] And another thing: Will the sessions of the committee be opened to the public?

[Ivanovic] I have always worked in this way.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that you will strive for public work?

[Ivanovic] Most certainly.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

### Ex-U.S. Official's Behavior 'Provocative'

*LD2805162190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—The excessively provocative and arrogant behavior of former U.S. Congressman Joseph Dioguardi in Pristina, from which neither the U.S. Congress members in attendance nor the U.S. diplomatic representatives in the SFRY have distanced themselves, cannot be seen but as a serious blow to overall relations of cooperation and fairness between the United States and Yugoslavia.

In addition, Dioguardi's statements in the presence of representatives of the U.S. Embassy in the SFRY represent an abuse of diplomatic status and immunity and an interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. This is stressed in a statement made today on behalf of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Soviet Republic [SR] of Serbia by Dr. Aleksandar Prlja, member of the Executive Council and Serbia's secretary

for foreign relations, in reaction to an unprecedented incident caused by an attempt to misuse a visit by U.S. congressmen to Pristina.

It is completely unacceptable, the statement goes on, to absolve U.S. official representatives in Yugoslavia from responsibility for such incidents. Without wanting to comment on either financial or similar motives behind this kind of behavior or on the desire to gain favor with the oppressive and undemocratic regime in neighboring Albania, the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly considers it necessary for competent federal organs in Yugoslavia to lodge a sharp protest with both the U.S. Government and its representatives accredited in our country.

We cannot but note that frequent and provocative attempts evident in the United States to internationalize the problem of Kosovo have been occurring at the time when U.S. policy does not hesitate to encroach upon the territory of a sovereign state and to inflict a large number of innocent casualties in the course of armed conflicts such as what happened in Panama recently.

For those advocating the current U.S. policy of pressure in reaction to the constitutional system in Serbia and Yugoslavia, diplomatic and consular immunity is no protection against break-ins by official and armed U.S. representatives (such as in the case of Cuba), Dr. Prlja says in conclusion. At the same time the diplomatic status of U.S. representatives in our country is being openly abused.

### Foreign Office Protests U.S. Officials' Behavior

*LD2905185490 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade—Zvone Dragan, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, has lodged a strong protest with the charge d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in connection with the extremely unacceptable behavior of U.S. congressmen in Kosovo on 27-28 May, and the abuse of their transit through Yugoslavia. Particular note was made of the politically calculated behavior by members of the group in encouraging gatherings and demonstrations and in inciting nationalist and separatist aspirations among a section of the Albanian nationality. It is particularly surprising that responsible representatives of the U.S. Embassy took part in this activity. All this constitutes interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, the protest states.

Meanwhile, a delegation from the Bozur Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo was received in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs at their request. They expressed their indignation at the behavior by Congressman Lantos and the other U.S. citizens with him in Kosovo, and they called for firm measures to be taken in this regard. The representatives of Bozur also called for general activity by the Yugoslav diplomatic service in connection with Kosovo.

### Kosovo Serbs Protest Congressmens' 'Interference'

*LD2905154690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1315 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—A Serbian and Montenegrin delegation from (?Yugoslavia's) Kosovo Province lodged a protest on Tuesday [29 May] to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the political activities in Kosovo of American Congressman Tom Lantos and former congressman Joseph Dioguardi, the Serbian Ministry of Information said here today.

In their verbal protest, the Kosovo Serbs said that "the activities of the American citizens, organized by the United States Embassy in Belgrade," and the support to the ethnic Albanian separatist alternative movement presents direct interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and [words indistinct] the province, the ministry statement said.

The Serbian and Montenegrin delegation from Kosovo asked Yugoslav federal organs to protest strongly to the American Government and its representatives in Yugoslavia.